

REPORT, 1915/

of the

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE
ON UNEMPLOYMENT

Mayor's Committee on Unemployment
NEW YORK CITY
JANUARY, 1916

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REPORT
of the
MAYOR'S COMMITTEE
ON UNEMPLOYMENT

PART I
WORK ACCOMPLISHED

PART II
A PROGRAM FOR DEALING WITH
UNEMPLOYMENT IN NEW YORK

PART III
CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR
AN IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

PART IV
APPENDICES

NEW YORK CITY
JANUARY, 1916

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NEW YORK.

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PREFACE

This report seeks to summarize the experience of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment in dealing with unemployment conditions in New York City during the winter of 1914-1915. It also presents information regarding similar effort elsewhere, and discusses various constructive measures tried in Europe and America to reduce the evil of unemployment and to minimize its distressful effect. There is no problem of greater moment to the welfare of the American people. There is no question presenting greater difficulties than are inherent in the disorganization of life and self reliance due to inability of workers to find work. Anything that can be done to mitigate this evil is a gain.

There is a considerable amount of unemployment which is recurrent and still seems an inevitable part of industrial organization. This may be in some degree at least prevented by better organization. At all events, effort to prevent it is distinctly desirable. Unemployment insurance adopted in various forms in England and on the Continent has often been urged as a means of safeguarding workers against recurring unemployment. Greater care in selecting and dismissing employees, better training for prospective wage earners, are all measures which may effect an improvement in the phases of the unemployment problem that are not directly caused by a stoppage of industry and business let down.

This report brings together numerous interesting suggestions and formulates a program of constructive effort for New York. Its publication should at least serve the purpose of putting into convenient form for the use of those who seek to deal with unemployment in the future the record of New York's experience in the distressful winter of 1914-1915, and a suggestive summary of thought and effort elsewhere devoted to dealing with the evils of unemployment.

E. H. GARY, *Chairman,*

HENRY BRUÈRE, *Secretary,*

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT

APPOINTED DECEMBER 2, 1914

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ROLLING BANDAGES AND PREPARING SURGICAL SUPPLIES IN EMERGENCY WORKSHOP OF MAYOR'S COMMITTEE

PART I

WORK ACCOMPLISHED

Introduction

In the fall of 1914, the City of New York found itself confronted with an acute situation with regard to unemployment, created by the extraordinary disturbance of normal conditions of trade and industry, due to the outbreak of the European war. As a result of this condition, and in conformance with a program submitted for his consideration,* the Mayor appointed on December 2d, 1914, a committee on unemployment and relief, composed of about one hundred leading men and women of the city in the field of business, labor, philanthropy and civic interest. Ex-Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, served as chairman of the committee.

In appointing the committee on unemployment and relief, the Mayor said in part:

"There is a grave question before the City in dealing with the problem of unemployment. It cannot be met by public or private charity. It is a matter of business, commerce and industry.

"The City has taken an important step in the right direction by establishing a Public Employment Bureau, but a Public Employment Bureau cannot make work. To meet the unemployment problem, all the ability and resources of business must be called on. . . . There must be co-operation between the city, state and federal governments. . . . We must not regard this condition (unemployment) as occasional only. It is persistent and we must deal with it as a persistent evil to be reduced if it cannot be wholly wiped out."

The first step taken by the Committee was to organize itself into the following seven sub-committees, each to take up a particular phase of the problem:

- 1 Committee on Facts Regarding Existing Unemployment
- 2 Committee on Immediate Private and Public Employment Opportunities
- 3 Committee on Relief Needs and Measures
- 4 Committee on Unemployment Among Women
- 5 Committee on Co-operation of Business and Industry to Promote Employment
- 6 Committee on National, State and Municipal Policies
- 7 Committee on Emergency Work Rooms for Men

A preliminary report† of the Committee, issued in February, 1915, contains a summary of its work to that date. The substance of that report is included herein.

* A Proposal with reference to Unemployment in the winter of 1914-1915 for consideration by His Honor, the Mayor of the City of New York, prepared by Henry Bruère, City Chamberlain, November, 1914.

† First Formal Report of the work of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, February 5, 1915.

Securing Facts as to Unemployment

When the Committee began its work no statistics were available regarding unemployment in New York City except from representative trade unions. The latest report issued by the State Department of Labor regarding employment conditions in the trade unions of the City showed that 32,199 or 28.2 per cent. of the 114,345 members of 94 unions reporting, were idle in June, 1914, on account of lack of work.* This percentage was the highest for June since 1908, and was higher than that for September, 1914, which figures were published after the Committee's work was under way. No other data were accessible, except the figures from the four largest relief societies showing an increasing number of applications for help made to these societies.

As a result of the past year's work it may fairly be said that more progress has been made in securing the facts regarding the amount and incidence of unemployment in New York City than in any other city in the country. To this result city departments and employees, immigration officials and inspectors, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the Mayor's Committee have jointly contributed.

As a first step in gauging the actual condition of employment, the Committee sent a questionnaire to representative employers of the City. Returns were secured from 602 employers of over 250,000 employees as to the relative number employed in a given week in December, 1914, compared with a corresponding week in December, 1913. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, at the request of the Committee, canvassed nearly 156,000 families of its industrial policyholders in January, 1915, and tabulated the amount of unemployment among the wage earners of these families.† In February, 1915, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, supervised a house to house canvass of nearly 55,000 families in order to check up and test the accuracy of the method and the figures secured by the canvass of employers and of the policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.‡ The Mayor's Committee (through city departments) and the Bureau of Immigration, furnished the field force for the federal census.

The most striking confirmation of the carefulness and substantial accuracy of the work done, was the remarkable agreement of the figures obtained by the two independent investigations (the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's canvass and that under the supervision of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics). The returns from employers, showing a comparison between corresponding weeks in two successive years, and taking into account the estimates of the best authorities as to conditions in December, 1913, were felt to be in accord with the investigations by the census method. So satisfactory was the general method inaugurated in New York that the federal authorities requested the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to take an employment census of its industrial policyholders in twenty-seven cities of the country, which has since been done.

* Bulletin No. 61, New York State Department of Labor, October, 1914 p. 8.

† See p. 11.

‡ See p. 14.

The Committee felt that it would be an index of conditions to be anticipated during the winter of 1915-1916, and a valuable contribution to the study of the amount of unemployment in the City under varying conditions, if a comparison could be made with the results of the census of the previous winter, by repeating the canvass during the late summer. The Secretary of Labor and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company acquiesced most cordially in the Committee's suggestion that a second inquiry covering the same ground be made. The last week of August and the first three weeks of September, 1915, were agreed upon as the census period. City employees and immigration inspectors were again assigned, under the supervision of a special agent of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, to take a census of the 104 city blocks and 3,703 individual tenement houses previously canvassed.* The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company undertook once more the task of securing data as to unemployment among wage earners in the families of its industrial policy-holders, a splendid example of public service by an insurance company.† The Committee also made a canvass of selected trade unions in January.

The Committee further kept in touch with employment conditions through daily reports from the Municipal Lodging House, showing the number, sex and nationality of lodgers, and the percentage of lodgers in the City less than ten days and less than sixty days. During the winter it received daily reports from the police as to the number of men and women appearing on the bread lines, monthly reports from the principal relief agencies and periodic reports from other sources of information. Through the co-operation of the social settlements of the City an inquiry was made as to the credit accounts of neighborhood retail stores.

Results of Various Investigations

Returns from Employers

The Committee on Facts Regarding Existing Unemployment decided that the first question before it was to get a measure of unemployment existing in 1914-1915 as compared with the preceding year, in order that the various sub-committees of the Mayor's Committee, but more particularly the committee having to do with relief needs and measures, might have some adequate basis for determining approximately what their problem was to be.

A questionnaire was sent out by this committee to ascertain from representative employers in all branches of industry, the number of persons employed on full time and on part time during the week ending December 19, 1914, as compared with the corresponding week of December, 1913. Replies to the committee's questionnaire were received from 602 employers, employing at that time (December, 1914) 250,723 persons. The figures submitted covered the differences in employment for the week ending December 19, 1914, as compared with the corresponding week of December, 1913. The committee did not estimate the total number of persons unemployed for the week ending December 19, 1914, but the increased number over the same time in the preceding year. The figures show for all industries and lines of trade combined that there was an increase in unemployment for the week ending

* See p. 20.

† See p. 20.

December 19, 1914 equal to about 8 per cent. of the total number of workers in December, 1913. With this as a basis the committee estimated that approximately 200,000 more persons were unemployed in New York City in December, 1914, than in December, 1913.

Replies from 404 factories employing a total of 77,270 persons showed that for the given week the increased unemployment among factory workers only, in 1914 over 1913, was equal to 13.5 per cent. of the total number employed in December, 1913. In the building and hand trades, figures covering 80,042 employees (one-third of the estimated total number employed in the industry), showed that there was an increase in unemployment amounting to 20 per cent. of those employed in the preceding year.

Replies from 156 employers engaged in general trade, *i. e.*, banking, brokerage, insurance, real estate, wholesale and retail business, grain elevators, warehouses, etc., employing 35,058 persons, showed an *increase* of nearly 4 per cent. in the number of persons employed for the week ending December 19, 1914, as compared with the corresponding week in 1913.

Replies from 31 large transportation and public utility companies covering a total of 57,000 persons showed about 1 per cent. *increase* in the number of persons employed over 1913.

Among factory employees the increased unemployment among wage earners only in the given week of December, 1914, as compared with the given week in December, 1913, was 12 per cent. in the case of men, and 17 per cent. in the case of women workers. The total percentages in factory workers were as follows:

FACTORIES	No. Replies Received	No. Employees Represented by Replies	Per Cent. of Decrease in No. of Employees Represented by Replies, Dec., 1914, over Dec., 1913
Stone, clay and glass.....	9	1,007	13.2
Metals, machinery and vehicles....	74	16,668	14.0
Wood manufactures.....	44	6,993	15.0
Furs, leather and rubber.....	25	3,892	8.9
Chemicals, oils and paints.....	18	4,445	*0.5
Paper.....	2	345	1.7
Printing and paper goods.....	35	9,039	4.9
Textiles.....	19	3,356	15.8
Clothing, millinery, etc.....	132	17,005	18.5
Foods, liquors and tobacco.....	23	7,371	10.6
Late replies not distributed by groups.....	23	7,149	11.0
Grand total, factories.....	404	77,270	13.5†

* Increase.

† Corrected "weighted" average.

Among persons employed in general trade, *i. e.*, banking, brokerage, insurance, real estate, wholesale and retail business, grain elevators, warehouses, etc., the figures were as follows:

TRADE	No. Replies Received	No. Employees	Per Cent. of Increase in No. of Employees Represented by Replies, Dec., 1914, over Dec., 1913
Banking, brokerage, insurance, real estate.....	16	5,686	7.8+
Wholesale and retail.....	129	26,956	2.8+
Grain elevators, warehouses, etc....	11	2,416	3.9+
Total, trade.....	156	35,058	3.7+

The figures for transportation and other public utilities (exclusive of subway contractors), were as follows:

TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES	No. Replies Received	No. Employees Represented by Replies	Per Cent. of Decrease in No. of Employees Represented by Replies, Dec., 1914, over Dec., 1913
Steam R. R.....	4	7,807	3.2
Electric and street railways.....	4	15,555	*12.2
Transfer and drayage.....	5	102	27.1
Water transportation.....	4	3,756	11.1
Electric light and power plants....	7	11,231	4.3
Gas plants.....	6	5,533	*1.9
Telephone and telegraph.....	1	13,018	*0.7
Total, transportation, etc....	31	57,002	*1.1

* Increase.

It must be understood that these figures were based upon replies representing a trifle less than 12½ per cent., or about one-eighth of the total estimated number of persons gainfully employed in trade and industry in New York City.† These replies were, however, received from establishments carefully selected by the committee and considered to be fully representative of their various lines.

The analysis of the figures shows that while in 404 factories there was a decrease of 13.5 per cent. in the total number of employees in December, 1914, over that for December, 1913, the decrease in the number of employees on full time was 22.8 per cent., while the number of employees on part time was nearly trebled.

Survey of Unemployment in January and February, 1915

Canvass of Industrial Policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

At the request of the Committee, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, began, in January, 1915, a canvass of its industrial policy holders, and submitted the following report on March 1, 1915:

"This census was begun January 18, 1915, and continued several weeks. It was conducted through our agents who were supplied with inquiry blanks . . . and were instructed to secure the facts of unemployment among the families of policy holders whom they visited. The result of our canvass is as follows:

Total number of families investigated.....	155,960‡
Number of families with unemployment.....	37,064—23.7%
Number of wage earners.....	252,912
Number of unemployed wage earners.....	45,421—18.0%

† The committee estimated that on January 1, 1915, 2,017,000 persons were employed in the trades and industries covered by the inquiry. This number was 80.7 per cent. of the total number gainfully employed. The remaining 19.3 per cent. were public employees, professional workers, workers in personal service, etc., who, for the purposes of the committee's study were disregarded. The census method of computing the estimated normal increase of population was used in arriving at this estimate.

‡ Using the figure 4.1 (found to be average number of persons per family in subsequent investigations) as the average number of persons per family it is estimated that there were about 639,436 persons in these families.

"On the basis of these figures, we venture the following estimate of the total amount of unemployment in the Greater City. According to the 1910 Census, the number of persons, age 10 and over, engaged in gainful occupations was 2,152,433. This was 45.2 per cent. of the total population at that time. Assuming that this proportion of occupied persons has continued, the number of wage earners is now about 2,410,760.* We may use this figure as the basis of our estimate. As our analysis shows an unemployment rate of 18 per cent., the total number of unemployed would be about 434,000.

"This figure is likely to be an over, rather than an under, estimate, because the rate of 18 per cent. which we found, is not likely to hold throughout the entire working population of the City. We should not be inclined, however, to discount it too much, because our population is now larger than the 1914 figure of the Census Bureau, and because an unusually high rate of unemployment in the clerical and professional pursuits is evident. Perhaps 400,000 persons unemployed in New York City is a fair estimate at the present time."†

"It would appear that the industries which are most seriously affected by unemployment are as follows:

	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number	Per Cent. of Total	Number	Per Cent. of Total
Building trades.....	6,510	20.4	.....	.....
Clothing manufactures.....	2,255	7.1	646	7.8
Workers in iron and steel products..	1,517	4.8	239	2.9
Printing and bookbinding.....	714	2.2	118	1.4
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries.....	1,048	3.3	1,558	18.9
Employees in wholesale and retail trade.....	4,632	14.5	2,554	30.9
Domestic and hotel servants.....	584	1.8	1,280	15.6
Workers in unspecified pursuits.....	4,736	14.8	562	6.8

Data as to sex and occupation of 40,143 of the 45,421 unemployed persons scheduled have been tabulated.‡

* Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, by the same method, secures the figure 2,455,000 which it used as the basis for computing the number of unemployed. See p. 14.

† The compilers of this report did not deduct from the occupation statistics of the census the total number of persons employed as officials, managers, overseers, proprietors, bankers, brokers and retail dealers who are not likely to be unemployed although their incomes might be impaired by unemployment. All of these classes together, including the classification milliners and millinery dealers, which includes both employers and employees, total less than 250,000 persons. If it were assumed that all of these classes should be deducted, it would reduce the estimate of the total number of unemployed by a number not exceeding 10,000. The same thing holds as to the Federal Bureau census. See p. 14.

‡ The arrangement followed is condensed from that of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (Bulletin 172), differing in no essential particular from the original report made to the Mayor's Committee.

NUMBER OF PERSONS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT IN JANUARY, 1915, IN GREATER NEW YORK,
CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND INDUSTRY, AS SHOWN BY INQUIRY OF
METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry.....	168	.....	168
Manufacturing and mechanical industries:			
Building trades.....	6,510	.....	6,510
Chemicals and allied products.....	90	.....	90
Clay, glass, and stone products.....	379	.....	379
Clothing manufacture.....	2,255	646	2,901
Food and kindred products.....	374	.....	374
Iron and steel products.....	1,517	239	1,756
Leather and its finished products.....	387	.....	387
Liquors and beverage workers.....	46	.....	46
Lumber and its remanufacture.....	455	.....	455
Metal products (except iron and steel).....	300	.....	300
Printing and bookbinding.....	714	118	832
Textile manufacturers.....	176	276	452
Miscellaneous industries.....	1,048	1,558	2,606
	14,251	2,837	17,088
Transportation:			
Telegraph and telephone.....	43	143	186
Water transportation.....	927	.....	927
Roads, streets, and bridge transportation.....	141	.....	141
Livery stablemen.....	106	.....	106
Garage workers.....	86	.....	86
Street railway employees.....	306	.....	306
Subway and elevated railway employees.....	41	.....	41
Railroad employees.....	186	.....	186
Chauffeurs and drivers.....	3,309	.....	3,309
	5,145	143	5,288
Trade:			
Real estate and insurance.....	44	.....	44
Wholesale and retail trade—merchants and dealers.....	286	.....	286
Employees in wholesale and retail trade.....	4,632	2,544	7,176
	4,962	2,544	7,506
Public defense and maintenance of law and order..	479	.....	479
Professional service:			
Public entertainment.....	349	45	394
Other professional service.....	204	191	395
	553	236	789
Domestic and personal service:			
Maintenance of buildings.....	412	93	505
Domestic servants.....	61	1,200	1,261
Hotel servants.....	523	80	603
Personal services.....	611	547	1,158
Workers in unspecified manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	4,736	562	5,298
	6,343	2,482	8,825
Grand total.....	31,901	8,242	40,143

Census Under Supervision of United States Bureau of Labor Statistics:

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made an investigation to ascertain as nearly as possible the extent of unemployment in the City, in which the Mayor's Committee co-operated by securing for the bureau the assignment of about one hundred Tenement House Inspectors. The following statement of that investigation is taken from the official report of the United States Bureau.*

The investigation included a complete census of 104 representative city blocks located in various sections of the City, the less populated as well as the more congested sections. The blocks were carefully selected with the purpose of including a representative number of families of the various nationalities and all classes of workers.

This study was supplemented by a further census of the families living in 3,703 individual tenement houses and residences covering a still wider range of distribution.

For the purposes of the study all persons who had any employment whatever, regular or irregular, full time or part time, at the time of the agent's visit, were recorded as employed.

This enumeration was begun January 30, 1915, and was finished February 17, 1915, a schedule being secured for each family visited.

Results of the Investigation

The results of the investigation were as follows:

Number of families scheduled.....	54,849
Number of families having unemployed wage earners....	11,723
Per cent. of families having unemployed wage earners....	21.4
Number of persons in families.....	229,428
Number of wage earners in families.....	95,443
Number of unemployed wage earners.....	15,417
Per cent. of unemployed wage earners.....	16.2†

Assuming that the number of wage earners is now 2,455,000‡ as before stated, and using this figure as the basis of our estimate and applying to it the rate of unemployment derived from the study, as shown above, the total number unemployed would be about 398,000. It will be seen that the general results of this study approximate the results of the investigation made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The difference between the two may to some extent be accounted for by the fact that the investigation conducted by the Bureau was made later in the season than that made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the conditions of unemployment may have changed to some extent.§

* Bulletin 172, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

† In some of the crowded downtown blocks in Manhattan as high as 40 per cent. of the wage earners were totally unemployed. (Royal Meeker in an address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science.)

‡ The estimate of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company was 2,410,760, using the same method. See page 12.

§ See page 11.

Duration of Unemployment

In making the canvass of the unemployed an attempt was made to ascertain the exact occupation at which each unemployed wage earner last worked and the length of time that each had been out of work. Out of a total of 15,417 wage earners scheduled, this information was secured for 14,916. The following table shows the number of those found out of work on the day the investigation was made, classified by sex and periods of unemployment:

NUMBER AND PER CENT. OF UNEMPLOYED, BY SEX, AND PERIODS OF
UNEMPLOYMENT

DURATION OF UN- EMPLOYMENT	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
1 to 7 days.....	766	6.1	221	9.5	987	6.6
8 to 13 days.....	530	4.2	130	5.6	660	4.4
14 to 30 days.....	1,469	11.7	324	14.0	1,793	12.0
31 to 60 days.....	2,570	20.4	504	21.8	3,074	20.6
61 to 90 days.....	2,126	16.9	339	14.6	2,465	16.5
91 to 120 days.....	1,686	13.4	244	10.5	1,930	12.9
121 to 180 days.....	1,968	15.6	321	13.9	2,289	15.3
181 days and over....	1,440	11.4	215	9.3	1,655	11.1
Unknown.....	46	.4	17	.7	63	.4
Total.....	12,601	100.0	2,315	100.0	14,916	100.0

It will be noted that the largest number and percentage of persons out of work, both male and female, had been out of work from 31 to 60 days—20.4 per cent. of all the males and 21.8 per cent. of all the females—and the next largest number had been out of work from 61 to 90 days—16.9 per cent. of the males and 14.6 per cent. of the females. The unemployment, therefore, began to be most acute in the late fall or early winter, a period when work in many outside industries under normal conditions is falling off, and this unemployment was undoubtedly due to a considerable extent to the usual slack season. It will be further noted that 15.6 per cent. of the males and 13.9 per cent. of the females had been out of work from 120 to 180 days, and that 11.4 per cent. of the males and 9.3 per cent. of the females had been out of work more than six months.

The figures of the above table presented in another form show the aggregate number and percentage of wageworkers out of employment each specified number of days.

The following table shows that of all male and female workers combined 11.1 per cent. were out of work for a period of over 180 days, 26.4 per cent. over 120 days, 39.3 per cent. over 90 days, 55.8 per cent. over 60 days, 76.4 per cent. over 30 days, 88.4 per cent. over 13 days, and 92.8 per cent. were out of work at least one week:

CUMULATIVE NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WAGE EARNERS OUT OF WORK EACH
SPECIFIED NUMBER OF DAYS

DURATION OF UN- EMPLOYMENT	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
Over 180 days.....	1,440	11.4	215	9.3	1,655	11.1
Over 120 days.....	3,408	27.0	536	23.2	3,944	26.4
Over 90 days.....	5,094	40.4	780	33.7	5,874	39.3
Over 60 days.....	7,220	57.3	1,119	48.3	8,339	55.8
Over 30 days.....	9,790	77.7	1,623	70.1	11,413	76.4
Over 13 days.....	11,259	89.4	1,947	84.1	13,206	88.4
Over 7 days.....	11,789	93.6	2,077	89.7	13,866	92.8
1 day or more.....	12,601	100.0	2,315	100.0	14,916	100.0

Occupations of Unemployed

The next table presents the number unemployed, classified by sex, occupation, and by periods of unemployment.

NUMBER OF PERSONS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT IN FEBRUARY, 1915, CLASSIFIED BY OCCU-
PATION, SEX, AND PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, AS SHOWN BY CENSUS
OF U. S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

OCCUPATION	Sex	Num- ber unem- ployed	NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH SPECIFIED PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT									Un- known
			1 to 7 days	8 to 13 days	14 to 30 days	31 to 60 days	61 to 90 days	91 to 120 days	121 to 180 days	181 days and over		
MANUFACTURING AND ME- CHANICAL INDUSTRIES												
Building trades.....	M.	2,043	112	107	257	486	391	269	270	144	7	
Marble and stonecutters....	M.	86	2	4	8	13	19	19	10	10	1	
Operators on clothing.....	M.	1,565	74	38	145	292	296	258	280	179	3	
	F.	216	21	5	16	48	42	25	38	18	3	
Total.....		1,781	95	43	161	340	338	283	318	197	6	
Hat makers.....	M.	34	2	2	2	6	4	6	7	5	.....
	F.	11	1	1	2	1	3	2	.....	1	.....
Total.....		45	3	3	4	7	7	8	7	6	.....
Bakers.....	M.	108	15	5	18	21	10	13	15	11	.....
Iron and steel workers:												
Machinists.....	M.	159	4	7	20	31	25	17	23	32	.....
Other.....	M.	224	18	18	33	50	37	24	23	20	1	
Leather and leather goods:												
Shoemakers.....	M.	100	5	2	11	20	15	5	26	16	.....
Other workers in leather.	M.	62	4	2	7	9	10	10	8	12	.....
Piano makers.....	M.	298	19	12	24	38	61	47	49	47	1	
	F.	8	.....	.....	1	2	1	3	1	.....	.....
Total.....		306	19	12	25	40	62	50	50	47	1	

NUMBER OF PERSONS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT IN FEBRUARY, 1915, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION, SEX, AND PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, AS SHOWN BY CENSUS OF U. S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS—Continued

OCCUPATION	Sex	Number unemployed	Number of persons at each specified period of unemployment								Un-known
			1 to 7 days	8 to 13 days	14 to 30 days	31 to 60 days	61 to 90 days	91 to 120 days	121 to 180 days	181 days and over	
Carpenters.....	M.	116	11	8	21	15	9	12	22	18	.....
Cigar makers and tobacco workers.....	M.	88	11	4	15	26	15	6	5	6	.....
	F.	55	8	1	16	13	8	2	4	3	.....
Total.....		143	19	5	31	39	23	8	9	9	.....
Dressmakers, seamstresses..	M.	26	.....	2	1	4	5	8	4	2	.....
	F.	362	36	25	38	70	62	44	57	29	1
Total.....		388	36	27	39	74	67	52	61	31	1
Furriers.....	M.	172	.....	7	24	65	28	12	14	21	1
	F.	29	.....	2	8	8	4	2	3	1	1
Total.....		201	.....	9	32	73	32	14	17	22	2
Other workers, not specified..	M.	466	40	19	47	83	85	53	87	49	3
	F.	332	27	23	43	70	48	48	42	28	3
Total.....		798	67	42	90	153	133	101	129	77	6
TRANSPORTATION											
Longshoremen, stevedores...	M.	134	25	16	19	16	14	11	16	13	4
Chauffeurs.....	M.	125	10	3	14	19	22	11	25	21	.....
Drivers, teamsters.....	M.	507	40	24	60	115	68	60	71	69	.....
Other.....	M.	100	8	6	14	19	15	9	15	14	.....
	F.	7	.....	1	1	3	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Total.....		107	8	7	15	22	16	9	15	15	.....
TRADE											
Bookkeepers and clerks.....	M.	543	20	20	54	123	79	56	87	99	5
	F.	202	19	14	32	34	28	18	34	22	1
Total.....		745	39	34	86	157	107	74	121	121	6
Stenographers, typewriters..	M.	16	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	5	.....
	F.	119	7	7	11	23	13	18	23	15	2
Total.....		135	9	8	12	25	16	19	24	20	2
Collectors, agents, peddlers..	M.	143	14	7	26	27	21	20	18	9	1
	F.	8	1	1	1	1	1	.....	1	2	.....
Total.....		151	15	8	27	28	22	20	19	11	1
Messengers, errand boys....	M.	106	2	6	21	18	15	17	15	12	.....
	F.	7	.....	1	.....	3	1	.....	.....	2	.....
Total.....		113	2	7	21	21	16	17	15	14	.....
Store clerks and salesmen...	M.	320	15	11	28	77	40	30	55	63	1
	F.	145	8	5	20	51	21	8	15	17	.....
Total.....		465	23	16	48	128	61	38	70	80	1

NUMBER OF PERSONS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT IN FEBRUARY, 1915, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION, SEX, AND PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT AS SHOWN BY CENSUS
OF U. S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS—Concluded

OCCUPATION	Sex	Number unemployed	Number of persons at each specified period of unemployment								Un-known
			1 to 7 days	8 to 13 days	14 to 30 days	31 to 60 days	61 to 90 days	91 to 120 days	121 to 180 days	181 days and over	
Other.....	M.	136	13	4	14	27	20	13	16	29	.....
PUBLIC DEFENSE											
Policemen, watchmen.....	M.	100	4	4	11	17	8	16	18	22	.....
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE											
Actors and public entertainers.....	M.	97	15	8	15	19	8	9	12	11	.....
	F.	21	4	4	4	7	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Total.....		118	19	12	19	26	9	9	13	11	.....
Other.....	M.	32	2	.....	1	3	8	4	6	7	1
	F.	42	5	1	4	7	4	7	5	8	1
Total.....		74	7	1	5	10	12	11	11	15	2
DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE											
Bartenders.....	M.	84	8	2	15	13	8	17	15	6	.....
Cooks.....	M.	160	9	4	24	40	21	18	20	24	.....
	F.	65	6	5	10	8	10	10	12	4	.....
Total.....		225	15	9	34	48	31	28	32	28	.....
Domestic servants.....	M.	192	18	5	36	46	26	24	27	10	.....
	F.	230	30	14	44	50	29	19	21	20	3
Total.....		422	48	19	80	96	55	43	48	30	3
Elevator tenders.....	M.	77	5	2	22	12	7	12	9	8	.....
Laundry workers.....	M.	32	.....	3	5	9	3	3	7	2	.....
	F.	74	12	5	11	18	7	3	8	10	.....
Total.....		106	12	8	16	27	10	6	15	12	.....
Waiters and waitresses.....	M.	189	11	6	31	38	28	20	36	18	1
	F.	51	7	1	9	15	9	4	3	3	.....
Total.....		240	18	7	40	53	37	24	39	21	1
Others.....	M.	97	8	1	6	21	21	23	9	8	.....
MISCELLANEOUS											
Porters.....	M.	174	12	11	25	43	23	17	29	14	.....
Laborers.....	M.	2,440	123	89	253	468	469	398	422	211	7
Others.....	M.	1,250	85	60	141	239	189	138	196	193	9
	F.	331	29	14	53	72	46	31	53	31	2
Total.....		1,581	114	71	194	311	235	169	249	224	11

This tabulation shows that the largest number of persons out of work were common laborers, workers in the building trades, and in the clothing trades. The number of common laborers unemployed in all industries is shown to be 2,440; the number of workers in the building trades, 2,043; and in the clothing trades, not including dressmakers and seamstresses, 1,781. In this connection it should be repeated that this information was collected at a season of the year when operations in the building trades and clothing trades are normally slack, and that a considerable proportion of the unemployment in these trades is undoubtedly due to the slack season.

The following table is drawn to show approximately the total number of unemployed persons in each of certain specified occupations in Greater New York and the per cent. that such number is of the total number of wage earners in that occupation. The figures are based on the assumption that the conditions of unemployment throughout the entire City are approximately the same as in the sections of the City canvassed in this study.

ESTIMATED TOTAL NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED IN FEBRUARY, 1915, IN NEW YORK CITY AND PER CENT. OF WAGE EARNERS IN CERTAIN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX

OCCUPATION	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
Building trades:						
Bricklayers and stone-masons.....	5,854	32.5	.....	.....	5,854	32.5
Carpenters.....	12,229	25.9	.....	.....	12,229	25.9
Painters and paper-hangers.....	16,709	43.9	.....	.....	16,709	43.9
Plasterers.....	2,702	37.1	.....	.....	2,702	37.1
Plumbers, gas and steam fitters.....	5,143	23.1	.....	.....	5,143	23.1
Total.....	42,637	32.1	.....	.....	42,637	32.1
Bakers.....	2,560	16.3	.....	.....	2,560	16.3
Bartenders.....	1,991	14.0	.....	.....	1,991	14.0
Chauffeurs.....	2,963	28.1	.....	.....	2,963	28.1
Cigar makers and tobacco workers.....	2,086	18.3	1,304	13.1	3,390	15.9
Cooks.....	3,792	31.4	1,541	8.7	5,333	17.9
Dressmakers.....	616	50.9	8,579	19.4	9,195	20.2
Elevator tenders.....	1,825	21.2	.....	.....	1,825	21.2
Laborers.....	57,828	34.2	.....	.....	57,828	34.2
Longshoremen and stevedores.....	3,176	16.2	.....	.....	3,176	16.2
Machinists.....	3,768	13.1	.....	.....	3,768	13.1
Marble and stone cutters....	2,038	47.3	.....	.....	2,038	47.3
Stenographers and typists....	379	5.2	2,820	7.3	3,199	7.0
Waiters and waitresses.....	4,479	19.0	1,209	11.8	5,688	16.8
Grand total.....	130,138	28.3	15,453	12.8	145,591	25.1

In this table are included all occupations for which the data necessary to compute the percentages of unemployment were available. The estimated number of persons in the various occupations in the City of New York, which is used as the basis for computing the percentages, was secured from

the reports of the Bureau of the Census, and the occupations here presented are the only ones of importance which were found to be classified on the same basis as the data secured in this investigation. For the others, therefore, it was impossible to determine a basis on which to make the computation.

This tabulation shows the highest percentages of unemployment among marble and stone cutters, in the building trades, and among common laborers. It shows that 47.3 per cent. of all marble and stone cutters were out of work. Unemployment in the building trades was as follows: Bricklayers and stonemasons, 32.5 per cent.; carpenters, 25.9 per cent.; painters and paperhangers, 43.9 per cent.; plasterers, 37.1 per cent.; plumbers, gas and steam fitters, 23.1 per cent., or an average of 32.1 per cent. of all workers in these several building trades. It also shows the percentages of unemployment in other occupations as follows: Bakers, 16.3 per cent.; longshoremen and stevedores, 16.2 per cent.%;* machinists, 13.1 per cent.; stenographers and typists, 7 per cent.; and common laborers, combined without regard to industry, 34.2 per cent.

The percentage of unemployment in all occupations other than those named above, estimated on the same basis, is 13.9 per cent., and the percentage of all wage earners included in this canvass in all occupations combined, 16.2 per cent., as stated on page 12.

The table on page 16 shows that the number of unemployed workers in the clothing trades was larger than in any other industry scheduled except in the building trades and among common laborers. That industry, however, has not been included in the above presentation because of the fact that the classification of the clothing trade occupations in the report of the Bureau of the Census, which is used as the basis for computing percentages, is made on a different basis from that on which the data in this study have been classified. Therefore, it is impossible to compute accurately a percentage of unemployment for this industry.

The highest percentage shown for any occupation is for male dressmakers, which shows that a little more than 50 per cent. were out of work. The percentage of female dressmakers unemployed, however, was only 19.4 per cent., making an average for the whole trade, both male and female, of 20.2 per cent. The percentages of unemployment for all trades and occupations included in this table were 28.3 per cent. for males and 12.8 per cent. for females, making an average of 25.1 per cent. for both sexes.

Resurvey of Unemployment in August and September, 1915

In the last week of August and the first three weeks of September, 1915, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made a resurvey of unemployment, in order to compare

* In connection with the percentage of unemployment shown for longshoremen and stevedores, it should be noted that the figures refer to Greater New York only. They do not, therefore, purport to represent conditions in Hoboken and vicinity, where the great German lines have their terminals and where because of the discontinuance of the business of those lines an unusual amount of unemployment among longshoremen and stevedores may prevail. In New York City the shipping business had at the time of this survey improved over the conditions prevailing late in 1914.

the amount of unemployment found in the latter period with that found in January and February, 1915. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company canvassed the same industrial policyholders as in the earlier canvass, except that the latter canvass did not include residents of the outlying boroughs. The number of families covered was two-thirds of the number canvassed in January. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics canvassed residents of the same city blocks and tenement houses as in February. The Committee and city departments co-operated as in the previous canvass, by furnishing city inspectors to assist the bureau. The accompanying summary table gives the results of both investigations, compared with the results of the previous canvasses made by the same agencies.

SUMMARY OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN JANUARY AND SEPTEMBER, 1915, AND IN FEBRUARY AND SEPTEMBER, 1915

	METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY		UNITED STATES BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS	
	January	September	February	September
Families canvassed.....	155,960	100,951	54,849	56,539
Families having unemployed wage- earners.....	37,064	11,408	11,723	5,480
Per cent. families with unemployment..	23.7	11.3	21.4	.....
Persons in families.....	639,436*	413,146*	229,423	235,628
Wage-earners in families.....	252,912	141,616†	95,443	97,741
Unemployed wage-earners.....	45,241	12,865	15,417	6,529
Percentage of wage-earners unemployed..	18.0	9.1	16.2	6.9

* Estimate based upon average number (4.1) of persons found in families in census of September, 1915.

† 106,179 are full time, 22,572 part time wage-earners.

Assuming the number of wage earners in New York City to be 2,455,000, as is assumed by the Federal Bureau, and the percentages of unemployment found, to be representative, the total number of unemployed wage earners in September, 1915, had fallen from approximately 400,000 in February, 1915, to approximately 164,500, according to the federal census, or approximately 218,000, according to that of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.‡ During the seven and eight months period intervening between the earlier and later canvasses, the percentage of unemployment among the industrial policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had decreased 50 per cent., and that among the general population canvassed by the Federal Bureau, 58.6 per cent.

The following table summarizes data as to industry, sex and periods of unemployment for 10,622 of the 12,865 unemployed wage earners scheduled by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.§ 71 per cent. of this number, "could not find work," 15 per cent. were "sick or disabled," 7 per cent. were unemployed because of all other causes, and in 7 per cent. of cases the cause of unemployment was unknown.

‡ The percentages of unemployment found by the two methods used do not coincide in the latter investigations as closely as did the percentages in the former surveys.

§ Detailed data of the census supervised by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics will appear in a forthcoming bulletin of the Bureau.

**NUMBER OF PERSONS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT IN SEPTEMBER, 1915, CLASSIFIED BY
INDUSTRY, SEX, AND PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, AS SHOWN BY INQUIRY
OF METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY**

INDUSTRY	SEX	No. un- em- ployed	NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT									Un- known
			1 to 7 days	8 to 13 days	14 to 30 days	31 to 60 days	61 to 90 days	91 to 120 days	121 to 180 days	181 days & over		
All Occupations — Males and Females.....	M.	10,622	291	151	1,547	1,786	1,450	784	1,037	2,827	749	
	F.	8,492	228	134	1,201	1,344	1,088	590	881	2,377	559	
		2,220	63	17	346	442	362	194	156	450	190	
Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry..	M.	46	....	1	6	8	4	3	11	12	1
Manufacturing and Me- chanical Industries.	M.	3,632	105	81	526	612	443	247	355	1,036	227	
	F.	806	22	5	151	182	148	58	54	141	45	
	F.	1,354	44	35	194	242	261	90	135	365	88	
Building Trades.....	M.	16	2	....	3	2	3	....	2	4	....
Chemical and Allied Products.....	M.	123	5	4	16	11	11	6	20	39	11	
Clay, Glass and Stone Products.....	M.	385	5	7	53	75	47	31	21	119	27	
Clothing.....	M.	213	7	1	50	43	38	11	23	27	13	
	F.	106	2	....	12	25	17	6	19	23	2
Food and Kindred Pro- ducts.....	F.	33	2	....	7	5	7	6	2	4	....
Iron, Steel and Their Products.....	M.	235	9	4	42	50	26	12	20	58	14	
Leather and Its Finish- ed Products.....	M.	114	2	1	22	21	12	14	14	25	3	
	F.	11	....	....	4	1	4	....	1	1	....
Liquor and Beverages..	M.	33	....	2	8	5	7	1	4	5	1
Lumber and Its Re- manufacture.....	M.	176	3	3	29	23	17	16	25	53	7	
	F.	6	1	....	....	....	....	1	1	2	1
Metals and Metal Pro- ducts (except Iron and Steel).....	M.	112	1	2	15	13	15	5	12	43	6	
	F.	5	....	....	1	2	....	....	....	1	1
Paper Products Workers	M.	30	2	....	1	8	4	1	6	7	1
	F.	27	1	1	4	6	5	1	1	6	2	
Printing and Book- binding.....	M.	235	14	12	25	29	28	19	15	75	18	
	F.	32	2	....	2	9	4	4	4	6	1
Textiles.....	M.	71	....	1	12	13	10	1	4	24	6
	F.	35	....	....	14	3	7	2	1	6	2
Miscellaneous Indus- tries.....	M.	642	16	10	94	95	85	45	58	196	43	
	F.	444	9	3	69	113	83	33	21	88	25	
Transportation	M.	1,163	42	13	203	186	142	74	83	347	73	
	F.	50	2	....	3	5	6	4	8	16	6
Express Companies....	M.	109	2	....	15	19	7	6	11	37	12
Post Office Employees. Road, Street & Bridge Transportation.....	M.	11	....	....	1	1	2	....	1	4	2
Railroad.....	M.	620	16	9	100	106	93	46	36	178	36	
Telegraph and Tele- phone Employees...	M.	194	13	4	39	17	20	10	13	68	10	
	M.	21	3	....	4	4	....	2	3	5	....
	F.	50	2	....	3	5	6	4	8	16	6
Water Transportation..	M.	208	8	....	44	39	20	10	19	55	13
Trade.....	M.	1,670	44	18	211	252	241	134	201	444	125	
	F.	635	15	11	72	121	98	65	58	142	53	
Banking, Brokerage and Insurance.....	M.	42	2	....	4	1	6	6	5	15	3
	F.	8	....	....	1	1	1	1	....	4	....
Real Estate Employees.	M.	24	....	....	1	1	5	2	1	10	4
	F.	11	....	....	1	2	2	3	....	3	....
Wholesale and Retail Trade.....	M.	1,604	42	18	206	250	230	126	195	419	118	
	F.	646	15	11	70	118	95	61	58	135	53	
Public Service.....	M.	139	2	1	16	20	12	12	14	49	13	
Professional Service.....	M.	150	2	4	11	24	32	11	17	42	8	
	F.	32	1	....	....	2	3	12	6	7	1
Domestic and Personal Service.....	M.	593	20	13	96	94	100	31	66	137	36	
	F.	634	20	1	109	122	98	47	26	130	81	
Industry Not Stated.....	M.	1,009	13	3	132	148	114	78	134	311	76	
	F.	63	3	....	11	10	9	8	4	14	4
Occupations, Not Stated...											2,243	

Canvass of Selected Trade Unions

A special investigator for the Committee canvassed certain selected trade unions and secured information from the secretaries of twelve unions in the needle trades affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades. These officials reported that out of a membership of 129,750—80,640 were unemployed in December, 1914, as compared with 32,975 out of work in December, 1913. The increased unemployment in December, 1914, over December, 1913, amounted to 47,665 persons. If these figures may be relied upon, they show that 62 per cent. of the members of these 12 needle trade unions were out of work at this time. It must be borne in mind, however, that employment in the needle trades is highly fluctuating because of the seasonal character of the industry.

Inquiry as to Credit Accounts in Neighborhood Stores

At the request of the Committee, seventeen of the social settlements, each in its own locality, made a canvass of the smaller retail stores in order to ascertain the amount of credit being asked for by the residents of these various districts.

The workers of the Friendly House Society, Harrison Street, on the lower east side, Manhattan, made inquiry among 70 small food stores. Fifty-two of these reported being asked for more credit, both by people to whom credit had formerly been given, and by people who had never before asked for it. Credit was generally refused. The butchers in this section had an agreement among themselves not to grant more than seven days' credit except where collection was certain. The people were buying cheaper meat.

The Warren Goddard House reported having interviewed 29 butchers and grocers on Second Avenue, between 28th and 38th Streets, and on 34th Street, between Third Avenue and the East River. These merchants reported requests for twice as much credit as in the preceding year. Credit was given to only a few of their oldest customers. The East Side Settlement House, 76th Street and the East River, interviewed 33 small merchants in its vicinity, who reported that they were carrying more credits than in the year before, 30 of the stores carrying twice as many credits and 3 of them carrying three times as many. These merchants reported that people asked for credit who had never asked for credit before. The East Side Branch of the Henry Street Settlement reported for 36 merchants on Avenue A, First and Second Avenues, and cross streets between 78th and 81st Streets, showing that 19 stores had an increase in requests for credit; 7 stores estimated the increase from 10 per cent. to five times the usual number; 15 stores reported requests for credit where their customers usually pay cash.

The workers of Union Settlement, East 104th Street, interviewed 32 small butchers and grocers, who made similar reports. Hartley House reported that 14 dealers on Ninth Avenue, between West 45th and 50th Streets, said that business was normal, or better than last year, though two merchants reported themselves as carrying more credits than the year before. This section is the only exception to those reporting a general increase in credits and less cash business than the preceding year. The Doe Ye Nexte Thyng Society workers interviewed 40 merchants, 17 of whom reported a decrease in business, but no increase in credits, because the merchants generally refused to do credit business. Thirty-three reported more requests for credit and the purchase of less and poorer food by their customers.

Settlement workers in Brooklyn reported a decrease in sales in the Greenpoint section. Credit was not given for fear of inability to collect. The investigations made by workers of ten other settlements showed similar conditions.

Census of Homeless Men

A census was twice taken of "homeless" men and women, the last time on January 30th to 31st (before and after midnight), when a complete count was made of all living in lodging houses charging 25 cents or less per night, or sleeping in

shelters, employment agencies, back rooms of saloons, or found in unprotected places. This number was found to be 25,969, of which 1,831 were in the Municipal Lodging House, 269 at the Farm Colony of the Department of Public Charities, Staten Island, and 628 at the Ellis Island Immigrant Station. This latter number does not include the 183 immigrants in immigrant homes. 19,417 were found to be in cheap lodging houses. It should be explained that it was not deemed practicable to differentiate the employed living in cheap lodging houses, of whom there are a certain variable number, from the unemployed. Our figures included all occupants found on the date of the census.*

One hundred and thirty-five persons—118 men and 17 women—were found sleeping in employment agencies. 1,543 men and 130 women were found in missions. 341 persons, one of whom was a woman, were found in the rear rooms of saloons after legal closing hours, and 343 persons, 4 of whom were women, were found on public thoroughfares, bridges, docks, and in parks, without shelter.†

Increased Demands Upon Relief Societies

The demands upon relief societies for care and support constitute an index of general conditions. October, 1912, to September, 1913 (the fiscal year of these societies) was a normal year. In the year 1913-1914, unemployment became a factor of serious concern. In 1914-1915 the European war brought about more acute disturbance of trade resulting in widespread unemployment.

During the last quarter of 1912 the four largest relief societies‡ of the City had in their care a monthly average of 7,670 families.§ In 1913 this number had increased to 8,494, and in 1914 to 11,940, an increase over 1912 of 10 per cent. and 55 per cent. respectively. During the first quarter of 1913 a monthly average of 9,465 families was cared for. In 1914 the monthly average for the same quarter was 11,428, and in 1915, 15,231, an increase of 20.7 per cent. and 61 per cent. respectively. During the second quarter (April to June) the monthly average figures for 1913, 1914 and 1915 were 8,187, 10,534 and 13,575 respectively, or in 1914 and 1915 an increase over 1912 of 28.6 per cent. and 65.8 per cent. respectively.

During the third quarters (July to September) of 1913, 1914 and 1915, these societies cared for a monthly average of 7,448, 9,975 and 10,715 families respectively. In 1914 and 1915 the increase over 1913 amounted to 34 per cent. and 44 per cent. respectively.

The combined expenditures of these four societies for material relief

* On the night of January 22, 1916, a similar census was taken by the Police Department. There was found to be a total of 21,988 persons, of which 788 was in the Municipal Lodging House, a decrease from the previous year of 3,981, or 11 per cent. The 1916 census included an effort to ascertain the amount of unemployment (exclusive of Municipal Lodging House inmates) among the 21,200 men and women interviewed.

15,815, or 74.6 per cent., stated that they were working, and 5,385, or 25.4 per cent., stated that they were unemployed. This classification between employed and unemployed was based upon the statements of the men and women themselves, and includes employment of every degree of permanency. It was impossible to draw the line at any point between the employed and the unemployed. 64 per cent. of the total number interviewed were natives of New York or had been in New York for more than two years. Only 36 per cent. had been in New York less than two years.

† 320 were on a mission bread line, after midnight; 3 women were observed on the streets, so that only 20 are known to have been sleeping in unsheltered places.

‡ Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Charity Organization Society, United Hebrew Charities, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.

§ Brooklyn Bureau of Charities omitted.

during the last quarter of 1912 amounted to \$101,932.* In 1913 and 1914, for the same period, they spent \$110,252 and \$139,032 respectively, an increase of 8 per cent. and 36.4 per cent. For the first quarter of 1913, 1914 and 1915, the expenditures for material relief were \$112,423, \$130,346 and \$195,884. In 1914 and 1915 the increased expenditures over 1913 for material relief during this quarter amounted to 16 per cent. and 74 per cent. respectively. During the second quarter (April to June) the expenditures on this account were, \$111,460 in 1913, \$132,260 in 1914, and \$176,150 in 1915. The two latter years involved an increase of 18.6 per cent. and 58 per cent., respectively, over the corresponding three months of 1913.

During the third quarter (July to September) expenditures for material relief amounted to \$107,869 in 1913, \$127,600 in 1914, and \$157,509 in 1915, an increase in 1914 and 1915 as compared with 1913, of 19 per cent. and 46 per cent. respectively.

Summing up the comparative data as to the number of families cared for by the four largest relief societies, and the amount expended for material relief for the fiscal years 1912-1913, 1913-1914 and 1914-1915, the figures show that the monthly average number of families was 8,192, 10,108 and 12,915 respectively. The amount expended for material relief for each of these fiscal years was \$433,684, \$495,458 and \$668,575.† The average number of families under care increased in 1913-1914 and 1914-1915 over the number cared for in 1912-1913, 23 per cent. and 57 per cent. respectively, while the expenditures for relief increased 14 per cent. and 70 per cent. respectively.

Bread Lines

New York's permanent bread line, that at Fleischmann's restaurant, Eleventh Street and Broadway, was supplemented by others established during the winter at the Bowery Mission, 227 Bowery, at 9 First Street, at the Knickerbocker Hotel, 41st Street and Broadway, and for thirty days at 39 East 19th Street.

The Knickerbocker bread line was discontinued March 21st, the "Sun" bread line (9 First Street) a week later, and the Bowery Mission line on April 4th.

During the height of the winter season the number of people in four of these bread lines totalled approximately 4,000.‡ From March 1st to March 15th the number varied from 3,100 to about 3,700. The discontinuance of any one bread line apparently had little effect upon the number of applicants at any other. After the four new bread lines had been discontinued, the number in the Fleischmann bread line was not affected by this discon-

* None of the figures for relief includes the expenditures of the Sisterhoods affiliated with the United Hebrew Charities. The total expenditures in all cases for each society and for the societies as a whole were arrived at by adding the totals for each month, eliminating in each case the cents. The figures are less than the actual expenditures though sufficiently accurate for purposes of comparison.

† Expenditures for material relief of families in their homes, not including service or expenditures for relief other than to families in their homes.

‡ No figures are available for 39 East 19th St.

tinuance, although when the five bread lines were in operation the Fleischmann line did not attract an abnormal number.* The census of the Fleischmann bread line during the summer shows about the same number of applicants daily in these months as during the coldest months of winter.

In addition to these bread lines, free soup kitchens were opened by the Political Equality Association, in East 41st Street, by unions affiliated with the United Hebrew trades in Forsyth Street, and by other organizations for periods varying from a few weeks to three months. In City Hall Park the Straus Milk Depot was turned into a "Penny Lunch" stand where rolls and coffee at a penny were served.

Plan for Securing Facts as to Employment Fluctuations

The only employment data secured regularly and available to the public, when the Committee began its work, were returns from selected trade unions obtained by the Statistical Division of the State Department of Labor. These were published in the form of semi-annual and annual bulletins.

A group of experts working with the Committee as a committee on investigations, considered carefully the best means of securing continuing and dependable figures with regard to unemployment. The canvass of the industrial policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and that made by the city employees and immigration inspectors under the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics were approved and furthered as a beginning in obtaining some reliable measure of the amount and incidence of unemployment. These canvasses usually involve a great amount of work, are expensive, and can be undertaken only at periodic intervals. Some other means must be looked for. The consensus of opinion favored a modest beginning in a right method which might be extended as experience proved its value. The committee felt that the most important thing was to secure data as to fluctuations in employment. Irregularity of employment was recognized as one of the greatest factors in unemployment.

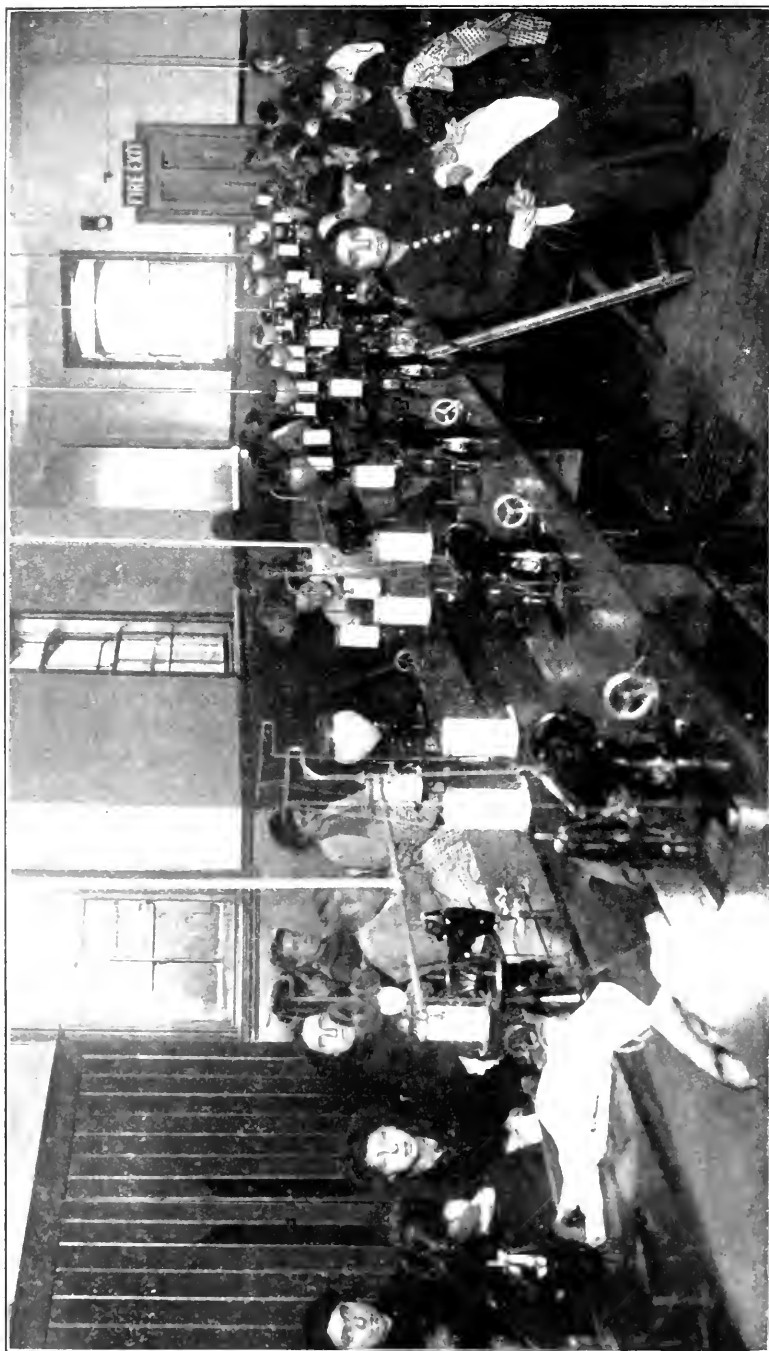
A schedule of inquiry was agreed upon in which two needs were regarded as fundamental to a good beginning:

Total number of employees—

Total amount of wages paid by employers—
in each payroll period.

It was learned that the State Department of Labor—now the Industrial Commission—the chief statistician of which met in conference with our committee, was prepared to undertake the securing of this data from representative manufacturers. The committee agreed that it was wiser to encourage the securing of this information as a matter of routine by a public department equipped for the purpose than to institute any inquiries of its own. The first report of the information collected, in accordance with this plan, from nearly 1,300 representative manufacturing establishments through-

* The explanation probably is that some regular applicants in the Fleischmann bread line were attracted to the Bowery Mission line when the latter was open to them. Applicants at other bread lines were apparently not served by the Fleischmann line when the other lines were discontinued.



UNEMPLOYED WOMEN WORKERS MAKING GARMENTS IN EMERGENCY WORKSHOP OF MAYOR'S COMMITTEE

out the State with nearly half a million employees, was published by the State Industrial Commission in the "Labor Market" (bulletin) for September, 1915.*

Special Investigations Made for Committee

At the request of the Committee three studies were made by a member of the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation and by students of the School of Philanthropy under the direction of Miss Mary Van Kleeck:

- 1 Study of Unemployment in the families of children applying for work certificates from January to April, 1915.
- 2 Study of 300 Girls who attended the scholarship classes of the Central Committee on Scholarships, during the winter of 1915.
- 3 Study of Records kept in public employment bureaus throughout the country.

The condensed report of the first two of these studies is published as an appendix to this report.†

The third report, after having been approved by the committee on investigations, was referred to the American Association on Unemployment (American Association for Labor Legislation) with the recommendation that that association take up the subject covered by the report with officials of the American Association of public employment officials. The standard record forms approved in this report form the basis of a proposed uniform record system for the bureaus affiliated with the newly formed Federation of Non-Commercial Employment Bureaus.‡

Relief Measures Undertaken

Emergency Workrooms

Among the many plans proposed to the Mayor's Committee for relieving the acute distress of the winter, that of offering "emergency employment" at a "tide-over" wage, from funds contributed for the purpose, appeared the most feasible of accomplishment. Workrooms had been opened by a few churches in the city, notable among them St. Bartholomew's, in which unemployed men and women had been put to work rolling bandages and making surgical supplies for distribution among the Red Cross units in the warring nations of Europe. The organization of these temporary workrooms, as a means of meeting an emergency due to widespread unemployment, had been promoted on a considerable scale in England. In that country, through the "Queen Mary Fund," raised by popular subscription, workrooms had been opened for the employment of women thrown out of their accustomed employment by the war.

* Published monthly, beginning with issue of September, 1915, and includes comparative monthly employment data from June, 1914, to date of publication. These bulletins also include comparative data as to estimated cost of building work for which permits have been issued in the ten largest cities of the State, and employment returns from trade unions.

† Appendices III and IV, pp. 101, 104.

‡ See p. 40.

Organization

The first workroom under the Mayor's Committee was opened in a dock department building at the foot of West 56th Street on January 28th. This was rapidly followed by others until there were twenty-two workrooms giving employment to as many as 5,000 persons daily, from funds raised and administered by the Committee. The work of organizing and directing these workrooms was undertaken by three special committees. Workrooms for men, of which there were thirteen at the maximum, were in charge of Miss Charlotte M. Boyd, Deaconess of St. Bartholomew's Parish, and a group of interested helpers. Workrooms for women, of which there were four, were in charge of the Committee on Unemployment Among Women,* with Mrs. James Speyer as chairman. Workrooms in Brooklyn and the Salvation Army workroom in Manhattan, five in all, were in charge of the Rummage Committee, of which Mr. William Hamlin Childs was chairman.

General Plan

The general plan followed in all of the workrooms was to give employment for five days a week to those who could not be placed for the time being in regular employment. The hours of employment were from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M. The workers received a "tide-over" wage of fifty cents a day and a nourishing noon-day meal, in the case of the men, and sixty cents a day in that of the women.† In one of the women's workrooms a noon-day meal was served for which a charge of three cents was made to cover the expense incurred by the Children's Aid Society, in whose school the workroom was located. In the other women's workrooms it was found best to allow the women, who were nearly all mothers, and many with husbands out of work, to go home at noon in order to prepare the noon-day meal for their children.

Care was taken in the registration of applicants to include those who would be benefitted most by the kind of opportunity provided by the workrooms. The social settlements in the various neighborhoods referred applicants to the workrooms, as did various other social agencies. In addition, there was direct registration at the workrooms themselves.

The payment made to the workers was in no sense regarded as a wage. Every effort was made to encourage and assist the workers in securing regular employment. Workroom hours were fixed so that there would be time both before and after the working time to seek such employment.

Occupations Followed

In the men's workrooms the workers were engaged in rolling bandages, making other surgical supplies, chair caning, cabinet making, cobbling, furniture repairing, raffia weaving, rug weaving, basketry, in the manufacture of fly traps for the health department, and in the making of toys and other

* For a more complete account of the operation of the workrooms for women, see separate report published by the sub-committee on Unemployment Among Women in which full credit is given to many co-operating organizations for valuable assistance and support.

† Up to February 15th, the women's workrooms were open six days a week. At that date it became necessary to change to a five-day week.

wooden articles. In the women's workrooms the workers made women's and children's garments by hand, including blouses, petticoats, small dresses, kimonos and boys' blouses. The Rummage Committee collected old paper, discarded furniture and other household supplies in astonishing variety. The paper and other marketable waste was sorted and baled. The furniture and other material having a saleable value was repaired by the unemployed. The revenue from the sale of paper, furniture and miscellaneous articles (\$1,103.92), was used to employ more men in the unremunerative branches of the work.

Disposition of the Product

Except for the material collected by the Rummage Committee, the sale of which did not compete with any established industry, nothing made in any of the workrooms was sold in the market. The surgical supplies prepared in the men's workrooms were sent in turn to each of the belligerent nations engaged in the European war. Later these supplies were given to certain of the New York hospitals receiving charity patients. The men in the workrooms cobbled their own and one another's shoes and were paid for doing so. The fly traps made for the health department were used in the "swat the fly" campaign. Private sales of furniture and toys among the charitably inclined helped to increase the ability of the committee to keep the workrooms in operation longer than would otherwise have been possible, although the amount realized in this way was not large.

Garments made in the women's workrooms were disposed of mainly through the Children's Aid Society, in whose school buildings the workrooms were located. A very large percentage of the garments went to the families of the women who worked on them. Hospitals, settlements and relief societies also received a share of what was made.

Location of the Shops

WORKROOMS FOR MEN

Docks and Ferries Department Building, 56th Street and Hudson River.
Young Men's Christian Association Building, 549 East 49th Street.
St. Philip's Church (for negroes), 212 West 134th Street.
Christ Church, 344 West 36th Street.
Union Settlement, 237 East 104th Street.
University Settlement, 184 Eldridge Street.
College Settlement, 86 First Street.
Hamilton Fish Library, 388 East Houston Street.
Loft Building, 589 Grand Street.
Diocesan House, 416 Lafayette Street.
Alfred Corning Clark House, 283 Rivington Street.
Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, 164 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn.
Clinton Avenue Congregational Church (Emanuel House, Brooklyn.)

WORKROOMS FOR WOMEN

Children's Aid Society School, 154 Hester Street.
Children's Aid Society School, 295 East Eighth Street.
256 Mott Street.
287 East Broadway.

WORKROOMS CONDUCTED BY THE RUMMAGE COMMITTEE

22 Bergen Street, Brooklyn.

Young Women's Christian Association, 376 Schermerhorn Street, Brooklyn.

Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, 164 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn.

Salvation Army, 120 West 14th Street.

Summary of Number Employed and Number of Days' Work Given

The thirteen men's workrooms, conducted under the chairmanship of Miss Charlotte M. Boyd, employed 8,558 different men for a total of 138,686 days' work from January 28, 1915, to April 16, 1915.

The four women's workrooms conducted by the Committee on Unemployment Among Women, employed a daily average of 886 women for a total of 51,720 days' work from January 21, 1915, to April 30, 1915. These totals include a daily average of twenty-six women employed for a total of 5,642 days' work as supervisors, cutters, forewomen and helpers who, except for three individuals, were themselves among the unemployed who would otherwise have been in distress.

The five workrooms conducted by the Rummage Committee employed 1,629 men and women for a total of 25,023 days.

The 22 workrooms gave a total of 215,429 days' work over the period during which the workrooms were operated.*

Co-operation

In the operation of the workrooms the Mayor's Committee met with the most cordial co-operation from individuals and organizations. Volunteer service in the supervision of the workrooms, the donation of all the space utilized by the workrooms, and, in many cases, of the materials used, cut down the overhead expense to a minimum. The churches, settlements, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Children's Aid Society, Salvation Army, and the charitable societies in whose buildings the workshops were located, not only donated the buildings themselves, with heat, light and janitor service, but in nearly every case contributed the services of trained and volunteer workers, without which the workrooms could not have been so successfully and economically managed.

Training Classes for Unemployed Girls†

A "Central Committee on Scholarships," a sub-committee of the Committee on Unemployment Among Women, was organized to help girls who were out of work and in need of an income. It was found by the philanthropic employment bureaus that many of the girls applying to them for work were in need of further training to make it possible to place them

* The total number of different persons employed cannot be given because of the lack of data from one group of workrooms. It is to be understood that not all the workrooms were in operation for the whole period given as that during which the three committees conducted workrooms.

† See separate report published by sub-committee on Unemployment Among Women for a complete account of the work of these classes.

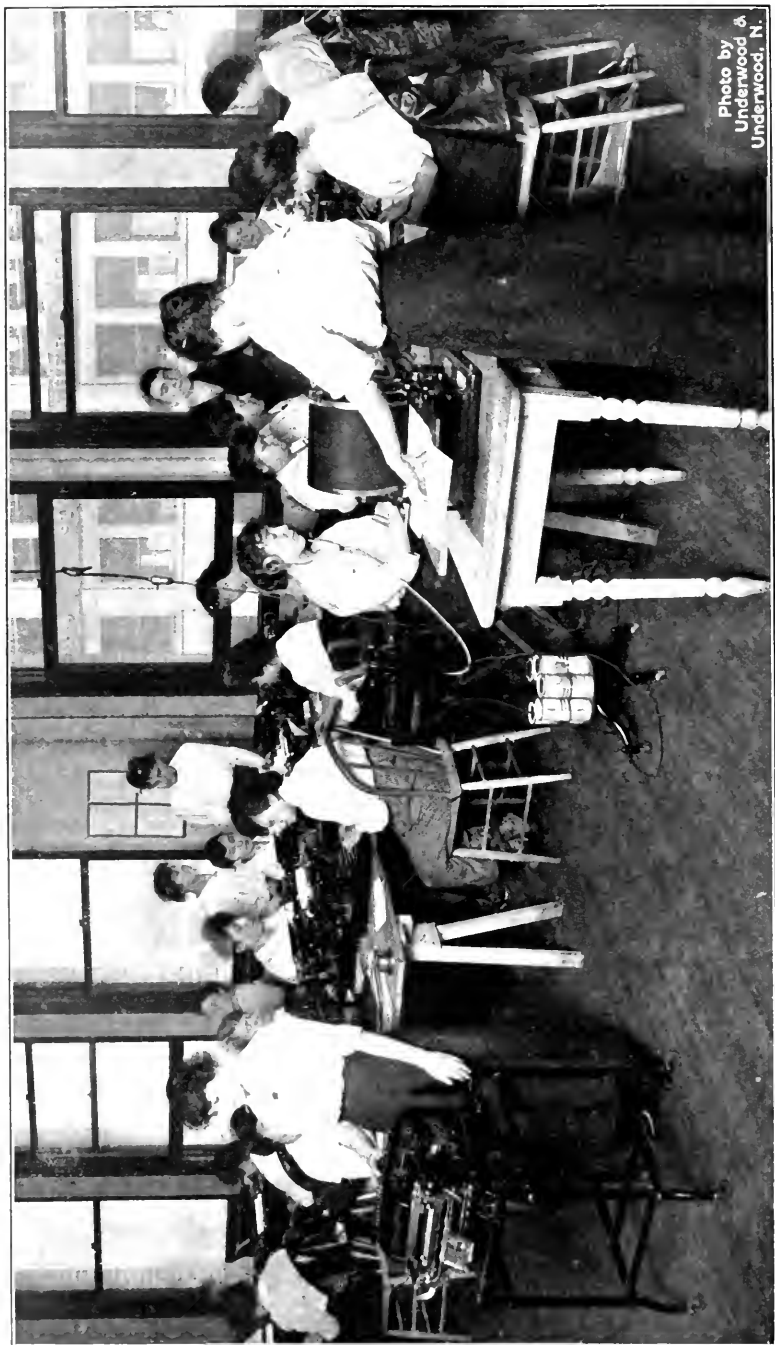


Photo by
Underwood &
Underwood, N.

MAINTAINING THE EFFICIENCY OF UNEMPLOYED OFFICE WORKERS

The Mayor's Committee and Co-operating Organizations made it possible, through "Scholarships," for over 1,000 unemployed girls to receive supplementary training in office practice, trade work and domestic science

satisfactorily. The committee decided to capitalize the unemployed time of these workers by organizing training classes for their benefit.

Classes for office workers and trade workers had been established, prior to the formation of the Central Committee, by the Vacation War Relief Committee, in co-operation with the Julia Richman High School and the Manhattan Trade School. Upon the formation of the Central Committee nine private organizations, interested in unemployed girls, including the Vacation War Relief Committee, affiliated with the Central Committee, sharing the expenses incurred.*

Seven classes, including the two already organized, were established for the benefit of stenographers, bookkeepers and clerical workers, trade workers, needle workers, and for training in domestic science. The hours were the same as in the regular workrooms so that the girls might have some free time to look for regular employment.

Girls with technical skill were given supplementary training along the lines of their chosen occupations. Girls without special training who had worked at a variety of "odd jobs" were given certain work tests to find out for what kind of work they were best fitted.

"Scholarships" of sixty cents per day for a five-day week were provided so that the girls might be "tided over" while they were being trained. A special class was formed for girls who did not need emergency aid, but who did need supplementary training.

The class for stenographers, bookkeepers and clerical workers was conducted under the direction of the Julia Richman High School. The class for trade workers was conducted under the direction of the Manhattan Trade School. The classes for needle workers and in domestic science were provided with teachers by the department of education. In addition, other teachers were provided by the Committee.

Over 1,000 different girls were reached in the various classes. 448 were placed in regular employment, some at double their former wages because of the additional training received.

The following organizations were represented in the membership of the Central Committee: Young Women's Christian Association, Vacation War Relief Committee, Manhattan Trade School, Henry Street Settlement, Children's Aid Society, New York Probation and Protective Association, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Charity Organization Society, Alliance Employment Bureau, Emergency Relief Committee for Jewish Girls.†

Six thousand dollars was appropriated by the Mayor's Committee to pay for "scholarships" in the various classes maintained. After these and other funds were exhausted, the Julia Richman High School and the Manhattan Trade School continued classes for commercial and clerical workers and for

* The maintenance, equipment and supervision expenses, other than the teachers assigned by the Department of Education, was borne by these organizations, the Junior League and private contributors. Mayor's Committee funds were used for scholarships only.

† See separate report of sub-committee on Unemployment Among Women for account of the contributions of these organizations to the Central Committee's Work.

trade workers, without the "scholarship" feature. The former was enabled, through funds furnished the school principal by the Vacation War Relief Committee, which paid all expenses not assumed by the department of education, to pay the salaries of three teachers during the vacation season and maintain trade extension classes for office and clerical workers throughout the summer. These extension classes were located in a loft building in West 17th Street, donated rent free by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. On December 6, 1915, these classes, and later in the month those of the Manhattan Trade School, were housed in the loft building owned by the City at 49 Lafayette Street, so as to permit an increased enrollment (to 75) in each class and make them more readily accessible to the Public Employment Bureau located on the ground floor of the same building.

Bundle Day

February 4, 1915, was "Bundle Day," organized by and at the suggestion of Miss Frances Kellor. The following is summarized from a report published March 10th, 1915, by the Bundle Day Committee:

The committee secured the co-operation of Mr. Rodman Wanamaker, who offered the services of the John Wanamaker Store, including its advertising and delivery departments. Mr. Joseph H. Appel of Wanamaker's, took charge of the advertising campaign, and with the co-operation of the committee, obtained free advertising space in the following newspapers: "The Herald," "The Sun," "The American," "The Globe," "The Mail," "The Journal of Commerce," "The Press," "The Evening Post," "The Evening Sun," "The Evening Journal," "The Brooklyn Times," the "New York Staats Zeitung," O'Flaherty's "Suburban List," the "Morning Telegraph," "The Evening Telegram," "The German Herold," "The Bronx Home News," "The German Journal," "The Brooklyn Citizen," and the "Brooklyn Standard Union." Advertising continued for a period of five days, and included half-page and quarter-page display advertisements, cartoons, and stories on unemployment conditions.

Six hundred moving picture houses, on the Saturday and Sunday preceding "Bundle Day," exhibited a screen showing a letter of endorsement from Mayor Mitchel. Special assistance was rendered by the Postal Telegraph Co., the American, Adams and Wells Fargo Express Companies, secured through Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt. Tags to be used in collecting the bundles were distributed to school children and in churches, department stores, etc., a number of the larger stores putting tags on every purchase for two days preceding "Bundle Day." More than one million tags were distributed. The committee estimates from its records that it distributed over two million articles of clothing serving some 300,000 people in Manhattan and the Bronx. "Bundle Day" headquarters were at No. 210 Fifth Avenue. Other storage room was secured at 44 East Fourteenth Street, No. 76 Fifth Avenue, No. 746 Broadway and at the Bush Terminal in Brooklyn.

The collection of the bundles was an enormous task. Great quantities

of clothing, new and old, were collected at 240 public schools, 99 parochial schools and 89 police stations, and at the terminals of seven railroad lines entering New York. Several department stores opened "Bundle Day" stations. Twenty-five stables of the department of street cleaning were used as temporary stations for bundles collected from public schools.

Two city departments, three express companies, eleven department stores and six van companies contributed the use of their vehicles. In addition, 75 boy scouts and telegraph messengers were made available for emergency calls.

The committee conducted an emergency workshop employing about 400 people at a dollar a day. In addition to this a repair shop employing from 70 to 100 people a day was operated, consisting of a sewing room, a tailor shop and a cobbler's shop.

The Bundle Day Committee handled many requests for relief and employment, which were referred to suitable agencies for proper attention.

The tremendous volume of the work required in handling and distributing over two million articles of clothing, although systematized as well as could be done in so short a time, resulted in a certain amount of unavoidable dissatisfaction which the committee made every effort to remedy.

The committee received and disbursed \$15,526.48. No salaries were paid except to the unemployed.

Distribution of Food by Hotels

Through negotiations undertaken by Hon. George A. McAneny, President of the Board of Aldermen, proprietors of the leading hotels and restaurants distributed food for noon-day meals served at the following emergency workrooms:

Christ Church House, 344 West 36th Street.
Bundle Day Committee's Headquarters, 210 Fifth Avenue.
Working Place of the Bundle Day Committee, 44 East 14th Street.
Parish House of St. Thomas Church, 229 East 59th Street.
Committee on Immigrants, 130 Broad Street.
The West Side League, 404 West 37th Street.
St. Bethany's Church, Tenth Avenue and 36th Street.
John Hall Memorial Chapel, 344 East 63d Street.
The Children's Aid Society, 552 West 53d Street.
Diocesan House, 416 Lafayette Street.
Salvation Army Relief Department, 127 West 23d Street.
National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, 127 West 135th Street.

A sufficient supply was given to heads of families in need to provide a meal for those at home.

A committee of five hotel and restaurant proprietors made the necessary arrangements with the respective hotels and restaurants.

Fifty-one hotels and restaurants and three downtown clubs joined in supplying the food which consisted mainly of thick vegetable soup and bread.

Distribution by automobile trucks loaned by the department of public charities and R. H. Macy & Co., was made daily from February to May first.

Care of Homeless Men

Increased Facilities at the Municipal Lodging House*

Early in the winter the commissioner of the department of public charities took steps to increase the capacity of the Municipal Lodging House in order to make ample provision for the care of all legitimate applicants for shelter. The facilities of the Lodging House were extended to a capacity of 2,700 beds, including the annex,† and could have been further extended, if necessary, by the use of additional space, to 3,000. The department had in reserve, outside the Lodging House, additional accommodations for 3,500 persons, by the use of which the City could care for 6,500 lodgers. Through the industrial department it was made possible for men to remain in the Lodging House seven nights in each month. In addition, the Farm Colony at Staten Island was made available for 500 men willing to work for their keep and who were permitted to remain an additional three weeks out of a month.

At no time during the winter did the Lodging House reach its capacity. The demand on it was lessened by the fact that the Commissioner of Immigration opened the waiting rooms at Ellis Island for night lodging for some weeks, accommodating several hundred men thereby. The average number of men cared for at the Lodging House, the average length of stay, and the percentage of non-residents among the lodgers, is summed up in a report of the Acting Superintendent as follows:

DAILY AVERAGE CENSUS BY MONTHS‡

	1913-1914	1914-1915
October.....	445	616
November.....	700	814
December.....	1,121	1,201
January.....	1,613	2,096
February.....	1,672	1,738
March.....	1,733	1,659
April.....	1,491	1,237
May.....	851	1,003
June.....	507	671
July.....	486	506
August.....	467	458
September.....	558	437

‡ These figures do not include employees.

"The average length of stay for the last three months of 1914 was $3\frac{1}{2}$ days; for the first three months of 1915, $4\frac{1}{4}$ days, and the second three months, $3\frac{1}{2}$ days—this in spite of the fact that we are permitting men to remain on the basis of one week a month, extending the time of those found on examination to require it, but

* See also, "The Men We Lodge," report of Advisory Social Service Committee of Municipal Lodging House to Commissioner of Public Charities, September, 1915, published since this section of the report was written, and dealing mainly with an earlier period.

† 2,264 persons, including employees, can be accommodated in beds. The larger capacity is possible by the use of army cots.

on the other hand, curtailing the time of those found not to be proper charges upon the city. The annual report for 1914 shows approximately 20 per cent. of the applicants to be non-residents of the State and to have been less than 60 days in the city. About 10 per cent. more have been in the city from two months to a year. This leaves about 70 per cent. natives and legal residents. These percentages did not greatly vary throughout the winter."

Placement Work at the Lodging House

The Mayor's Committee supplemented the work of the regular staff and occasional volunteer service at the Lodging House by engaging an experienced employment clerk for four months, from March 1st to June 30th, 1915, to endeavor to secure employment for as many lodging house men as possible. This service was made possible by the contributions of two interested individuals, no City funds being available. The work was placed under the direction of Mr. Walter L. Sears,* superintendent of the Public Employment Bureau.

Six hundred and seven men were registered as applicants for employment. Of these, 484 were citizens (79 per cent.), 111 aliens (20 per cent.), 12, nationality not ascertained. Forty-five out of 581 men of whom the question was asked, said they had no one dependent upon them for support. Sixty per cent. of the 607 claimed to be unemployed because of "lack of work." Sixteen per cent. said they had left their employment to "better themselves," but had been unable to secure any employment at all. Nine per cent. admitted having been discharged, some because of their own fault. These statements are, of course, unverified. Many were evidently casual laborers.

Twenty men out of about 100 referred by the placement clerk to the Public Employment Bureau† for reference to specific employment opportunities were placed in jobs. Few of the men were in condition to make a good impression on a prospective employer. Lack of good clothing was the greatest drawback. Men who apply at the Municipal Lodging House need work, when able to work, but they need an opportunity to "brace up"—good food, regular sleep in a clean bed, presentable clothes, often medical attention, and a chance to stand on their "own bottom", if neglect and irregularity of living have not sapped character and stamina.

Most of the jobs offered from outside employers were offered at wages below the market rate for regular workers, usually from \$5 to \$12 a month, with maintenance. Such jobs, when filled, were held for about a month on the average. Either the man secured better paying work, if competent, or was dismissed because of inefficiency or intemperance, a natural enough sequence following a low wage standard. The men were the natural victims of untoward economic conditions and were often under compulsion to accept anything that offered a living, however meagre.

The placement clerk demurred at asking men to accept such low wages, and endeavored to secure higher wages wherever possible. He believes, as a result of the four month's experience, that "the temptation to hire men

* Deceased, December 18, 1915.

† 49 Lafayette Street.

who are 'up against it' below the prevailing rate of wages, is one that should not be placed before employers," and recommends that Lodging House men be placed through the regular public employment bureau rather than as coming from the Lodging House.*

Four hundred and fifty men, not included in the 607 above reported on, secured temporary work from the street cleaning department as snow shovelers at 30 cents an hour. Sixty-five men accepted an offer of one of the hospitals to pay a small sum for blood testing, with a payment of \$20 if selected for blood transfusion.

The most satisfactory placement work was the placing of suitable applicants as hospital helpers in institutions of the department of public charities at from \$10 to \$40 a month and maintenance. One hundred and fifteen men and 114 women received institutional positions; 195 men and 231 women were placed in other than institutional jobs, 524 in all; 426 of these were placed in paid positions, 98 unpaid, i. e., board and lodging only. An additional 136 are believed to have secured jobs to which they were referred, but confirmation is lacking.

Amendment to Law Prohibiting More Than Three Days Per Month in Municipal Lodging House

An amendment was secured at the request of the Mayor's Committee repealing the three days per month limitation on the length of time during which lodgers may be cared for at the Municipal Lodging House.

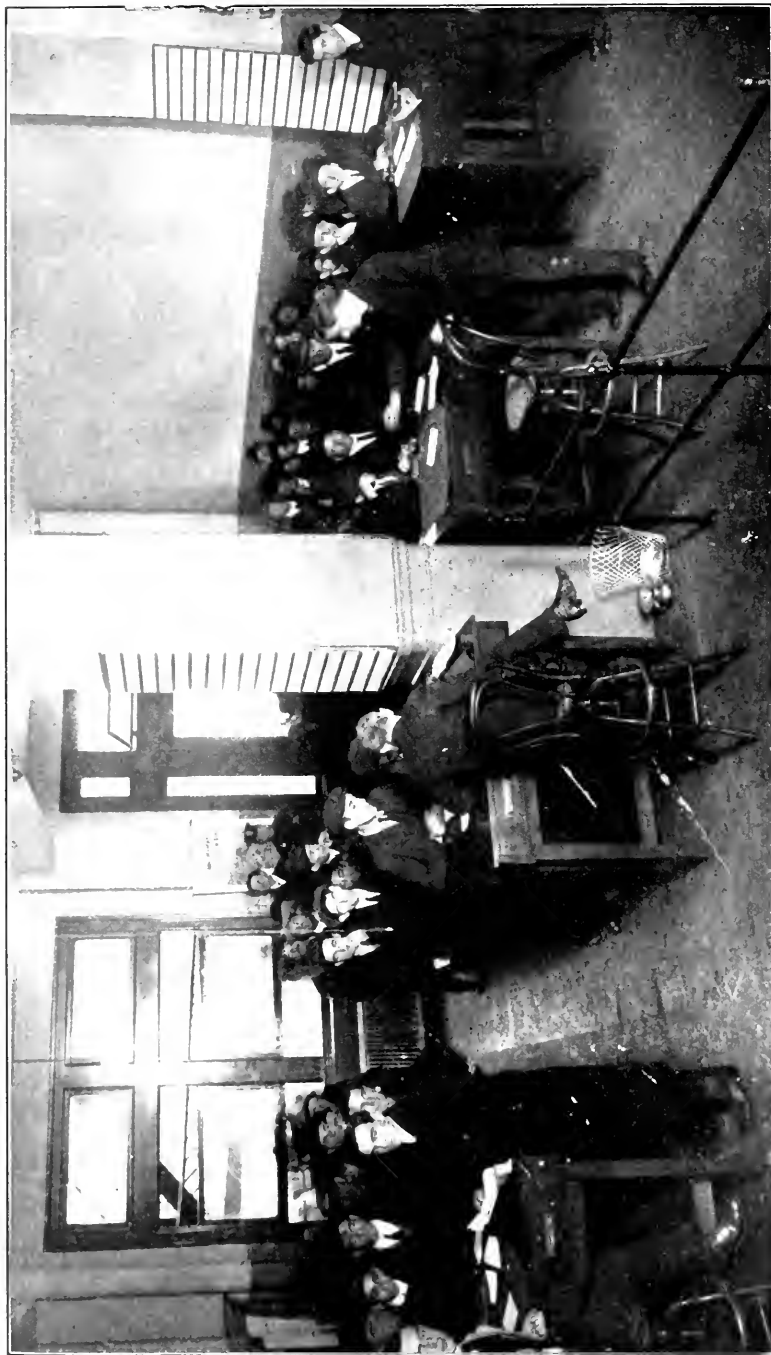
The experience of the winter proved that an arbitrary three days' limitation on the length of stay of unemployed men in the Municipal Lodging House hampered the superintendent in the development of the most helpful methods of providing for the needs of the men.

As previously referred to, the superintendent of the Lodging House, at the direction of the commissioner of public charities, had organized employment opportunities so that the men could be kept four additional nights, or seven nights in one month in exchange for work. The removal of the three days' limitation permits the commissioner of public charities to develop a policy in accordance with the needs of the men and the resources of the City.

"Hotel de Gink"

Early in the winter it appeared that the facilities of the Municipal Lodging House might not be adequate to accommodate the out-of-work men unable to provide for themselves. The Mayor's Committee and City officials were approached by Mr. Jeff Davis, an officer of the Migratory Workers' Union, who proposed that the City provide a building which might be used for lodging purposes and as headquarters for the unemployed of the type described by Davis as men unable to secure work in their accustomed callings, but willing to work, and reluctant to accept charity. Davis's plan

* It was in recognition of this principle that the work in the Lodging House was placed by the Mayor's Committee, under the Public Employment Bureau.



MEN'S DEPARTMENT, PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

Organized as a result of the City Government's interest in unemployment problem, winter of 1914-1915.
6,454 positions filled to January 1, 1916

was that the lodgers would put the building in shape for living purposes, maintain order, provide their own food and maintenance, and care for themselves in every way. From the vantage point of their own self-governing lodging house and headquarters, the men would solicit odd jobs of every kind to provide for their food supply until the regular spring work opened up.

Similar experiments to that proposed by Mr. Davis had been tried with considerable success in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, and Portland, Oregon. Ex-Mayor Seymour of Tacoma attended a meeting of the Committee and testified that the self-governing lodging house conducted by Davis and his associates in Tacoma while he was Mayor, proved to be of great value to the men and to the City. The Committee and the City officials approved of the experiment being made, though not without misgivings.

The "Hotel de Gink" was opened from January 11th to April 1st in a building which had been taken by the City for the new court house site at the corner of Centre and Worth Streets. This building was in a most dilapidated condition, but was made habitable by the men, who resorted to many most ingenious expedients in making the most of their meagre resources and equipment. The men planned to sleep on the floors. Blankets were loaned by the department of public charities and the Rev. Ernest M. Stires. A kitchen range and cooking utensils were secured. Certain of the large hotels donated dishes. The necessary work for the maintenance and upkeep of the building, the cooking and serving of meals and other duties was apportioned among the men.

During the winter an average of from 80 to 150 men made the hotel their headquarters. A committee of the men themselves passed on the eligibility of applicants. The men were able to maintain themselves with but little outside assistance in the way of voluntary contributions. The burden of providing for the group fell, however, on a comparatively small number of willing workers. When the subway contractors were in need of men, owing to the repeal of the alien labor law, practically all of the able-bodied men then living in the hotel applied for work.

Whether a self-governing lodging house for the accommodation of men out of work and without means, is a practical thing in New York City, can neither be proven nor disproven by this experiment. Such an experiment can be made with conclusive results only when conditions are more favorable than they were last winter.

Securing Regular Employment

Public Employment Bureaus—City and State

In November, 1914, the City opened a Municipal Employment Bureau at the corner of Lafayette and Leonard Streets, with Mr. Walter L. Sears as Superintendent. Mr. Sears, for the preceding eight years, had been in charge of the Massachusetts Free Employment Bureaus.

On January 4th, 1915, the State Bureau of Employment of the Department of Labor (now the Industrial Commission) opened a Brooklyn branch at 262 Fulton Street, under the general direction of Mr. Charles B. Barnes.

Both of these bureaus are well organized with competent staffs, and are gaining in favor with the employing and employed public. Each month of their operation now shows an increasing percentage of jobs filled.

The superintendent of the Municipal Bureau has succeeded in establishing three branches through private funds, one at 540 East 76th Street, Manhattan, opened June 19th, 1915, another at Greenpoint House, Greenpoint, Brooklyn, opened September 13th, 1915, and the third through the taking over, about the first of the year 1916, of the bureau for day workers, theretofore maintained at 436 West 27th Street by the Hudson Guild.

From the date of opening to January 1st, 1916, the Municipal and State bureaus, have together filled 12,306 jobs (6,454 by the Municipal bureau and 5,852 by the State bureau). During that period the bureaus have registered for employment 66,043 persons (42,846 by the Municipal bureau and 23,197 by the State bureau). Employers have called for 19,494 persons (9,242 from the Municipal bureau, 10,252 from the State bureau) of whom the number given above (12,306) are known to have been definitely employed.

An appropriation of \$800 was made by the Mayor's Committee to assist the Municipal Bureau in its advertising and publicity work. Of this amount \$700 was a special gift for newspaper advertising of the availability of the employment bureau.* The remaining \$100 was expended for the purchase and distribution of special display signs advertising the bureau.

Appeals to Private Employers

The Committee on Immediate Employment Opportunities endeavored to enlist the co-operation of organizations of employers for the purpose of doing what might be possible to stimulate employment or mitigate unemployment.

Part Time Movement

In addition to general appeals sent out by the executive committee of the Mayor's Committee addressed to employers and distributed by the Merchants' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and other organizations, the co-operation of the Building Trades Employers' Association was secured. The general secretary addressed a meeting attended by 450 members of this Association, urging them at this time to patronize to the greatest practical extent local manufacturers and shops for the purchase of building materials; to distribute among the largest number of individuals practicable the work then available, by working them in shifts or in alternate weeks, rather than

*The City Charter prohibits the expenditure of money for advertising the Public Employment Bureaus in the newspapers.

permitting some men to be wholly unemployed; to give preference of employment to married men when it became necessary to lay off men. An immediate effect of this appeal was that the Building Trades Employers' Association members reported about four weeks later that they were then employing 2,400 more men under this arrangement than previously.

In the brewing industry a similar arrangement was effected through an agreement between the employers and the brewery workers upon a policy of short time work.

In the allied printing trades many of the unions arranged that their members would lay off a day each week so as to permit out-of-work members to secure some employment.

Neighborhood Employment Through the Police

Among the helpful agencies called forth by the winter's distress the work of the police department committee on distress and unemployment deserves special mention. A fund of \$882.10 was disbursed for emergency relief. Police co-operation with the organized relief and social agencies was excellent. The most unique service performed by the police was an organized effort originating within the department to secure work for the unemployed. The following is taken from the report of the police committee:*

"Supplementing the work of other agencies and of the Municipal Employment Bureau, the Police Department found jobs for 2,811 men and women in 103 different occupations. It is believed that only 11 per cent. of these jobs were temporary, and that 89 per cent. would give regular occupation if the men and women proved capable and faithful.

"Of the 2,811 positions obtained by the Police Department, 263 were temporary positions for men who were employed by the residents of various blocks to keep the sidewalks and areaways clean. A policeman in each district interviewed the storekeepers and residents on a given street, and obtained contributions of ten cents a week for the extra cleaning work to be done. When enough people were interested, a list of the co-operating citizens was made up and an unemployed man assigned to that block.

"The necessary brooms and shovels were obtained from the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Charity Organization Society, the Brooklyn Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. At the end of each week the cleaner collected his money from the contributions, making between \$10 and \$12 per week.

"The requirements that a man had to meet to obtain one of these positions were:

- 1 That he be a resident of New York City
- 2 That he be in real need
- 3 That he have a family to support

"This plan was put into operation throughout the city, but the most satisfactory results were obtained in Manhattan and Brooklyn, and especially in the First Inspection District, located south of Fourteenth Street, east of Broadway and the Bowery.

* Report of Police Department Committee on Distress and Unemployment, Supplement to Police Bulletin, September, 1915.

"In this District 128 men were given temporary positions paying from \$10 to \$12 per week. Although a large number of these men have now obtained permanent positions, there are still more than 100 of them making a comfortable living for themselves and their families in this way."

The police committee assumed charge of the collection and distribution of "Bundle Day" clothing after the Bundle Day Committee had finished the major portion of the work, distributing 1,278 bundles with care and discretion. Inspectors Dillon, O'Brien, Dwyer, Cohen and Cahalane, with Leroy Peterson as secretary, acted as the committee in charge of the police work.

Federating the Non-Commercial Employment Bureaus for Better Co-operation

On the initiative of the Mayor's Committee, representatives of the public and private non-commercial employment bureaus have been brought together into a federation of which the Director of the Mayor's Committee is chairman. A constitution and plan of organization were adopted and funds raised to conduct an investigation of the work of the private non-commercial employment agencies. On the basis of this study (which has been completed) conferences were arranged between bureaus dealing with similar classes of applicants, to work out a co-operative program for the correlation of the work of the private and public employment agencies—preventing duplication and overlapping—and for securing the adoption of standards recommended as a result of the study.

The private bureaus interested in this federation are now and have been co-operating with the trade extension classes conducted by the Julia Richman High School and the the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, referred to heretofore.* A program for the more extensive development of methods and means of training the unemployed (Appendix II) is receiving the cordial support of these bureaus.

Business Organizing to Study Its Employment Problems

A significant development of the season's effort was the coming together at the invitation of the Mayor's Committee, of a group of executives responsible for the employment policies of some of the largest business and industrial establishments of the City. These men met to talk over their relation to problems of management in industry as they affect the securing, training and maintaining of a regular labor force.

"The Society for the Study of Employment Problems" was organized to study the best methods of engaging help, of training and developing workmen after they had been hired, of cutting down the tremendous "turn-over"† (or flow in and out of given establishments) of often as many or

* See "Training Classes for Unemployed Girls," p. 30. The public bureaus are now participating in this plan.

† See "Labor-shift or Turn-over," p. 54.

more persons in a year as are employed on the average, and of developing a rational, humanized employment policy which would result in greater regularity and permanency of employment.

Co-operation of Churches, Civic and Philanthropic Organizations

Inter-Church Unemployment Committee

The churches of all denominations joined in an Inter-Church Unemployment Committee under the leadership of an active group of church leaders, co-operating closely with and being represented on the Mayor's Committee. Rev. Charles Stelzle, the secretary of the Inter-Church Committee was director of relief and emergency measures of the Mayor's Committee for the three months of most acute distress, his services being contributed to the general committee work by the Inter-Church Committee.

An active publicity campaign designed to interest the membership and enlist the working organizations of the churches in the relief of the unemployed was carried on by the committee. A public meeting presided over by the Mayor, at which Ex-President Roosevelt was the principal speaker, was held in the Metropolitan Opera House. \$20,244.30, \$16,727.30 of which was received and pledged in a special offering at that meeting, was devoted to relief work by the committee.* Sunday, January 31, 1915, was observed as "Unemployment Sunday," the clergy generally preaching on unemployment at one of the regular services on that day.

A score of churches conducted emergency workshops, both independently and in conjunction with the Mayor's Committee. A "Be a Good Neighbor Movement" was featured as one of the activities of the committee. Church members were asked to "give a day's work," "find jobs about the house," seek out "repair work in the churches," "find jobs for men in the neighborhood as a religious duty," and co-operate with every established relief and welfare agency.

General Community Co-operation

Through the Committee on Relief Needs and Measures, and of their own volition, many organizations contributed to the relief work of the winter. The larger relief organizations, the settlements, missions, fraternal organizations, school teachers and trade unions contributed their share, each according to the demands upon it and its resources. Owing to physical limitations it was possible for the Mayor's Committee to keep in touch with only a part of what was being done throughout a city so extensive in area and with so large a population as New York. The spirit of co-operation and helpfulness was everywhere manifest. Not the least to be commended was the neighborly assistance of the working people to the needy among them. Without the liberal assistance given by the trade unions to their out-of-work members, the actual suffering would have been much more acute than it was.

* This sum is by no means the total expenditures of the churches, but refers merely to the amount expended by the Inter-Church Committee.

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT—1915

Financial Statement as of December 31, 1915

I. *Relief Fund*

H. P. DAVISON, Treasurer

Receipts

By contributions, general.....	\$168,835.23
Transferred from administrative and general fund (Fred'k Strauss, Treas.).....	549.21
Balance from St. Bartholomew's workshop fund.....	2,918.91*
Contributions, E. 49th St. workshop.....	302.25*
Sale of workshop products.....	1,588.60*
Interest on deposits (sub-committee on men's workshops)....	31.16*
Total receipts.....	<u>\$174,225.36</u>

Disbursements

Workshops (wages, meals and supplies):	
Men's workshops.....	\$124,917.16†
Women's workshops.....	29,790.00
Scholarships for unemployed girls.....	6,000.00
Public Schools' Relief Committee.....	1,000.00
Salvation Army (Col. E. J. Parker).....	250.00
Public Employment Bureau:	
Advertising Public Employment Bureau facilities.....	603.50
Clerk at Municipal Lodging House.....	315.00
Appeal for funds.....	526.77
Incidentals.....	23.50
Return of contribution—Belgian Am. Unemployment Relief Fund.....	500.00
Transferred to administrative and general fund.....	1,003.13
Total disbursements.....	<u>\$164,929.06</u>
Balance on hand December 31, 1915.....	9,296.30
Total.....	<u>\$174,225.36</u>

* Received and disbursed by committee on men's workshops, without going through treasurer's hands. Disbursements included in financial statement.

† Some women were employed in two workshops included herein. These disbursements also include \$7,509.02 expended for an experimental workshop conducted at 319 E. 49th Street, after the other workshops had closed. 216 different men, mostly old and disabled, were employed for an aggregate of 9,591 days' work. The shop was operated 95 days, with an average attendance of 101.

II. *Administrative and General Fund**

FREDERICK STRAUSS, Treasurer

Receipts

Contributions, administrative and general purposes.....	\$6,445.00
Contributions, relief purposes.....	3,549.21
Interest on balances.....	23.58
Transferred from relief fund (H. P. Davison, Treasurer), for part cost of preparation of report†.....	1,003.13
Total receipts.....	<u>\$11,020.92</u>

Disbursements

Salaries, executive office.....	\$5,310.29
Printing, stationery and office supplies.....	632.41
Telephone, telegrams, messenger service and postage.....	401.75
Advertising (appeals, notices and signs for Public Employment Bureau).....	166.43
Miscellaneous.....	67.41
Hotel de Gink (self-governing lodging house), supervision, light, heat and rent.....	893.42
Women's workshops—wages.....	3,000.00
Transferred to relief fund (H. P. Davison, Treasurer).....	549.21
Total disbursements.....	<u>\$11,020.92</u>

III. *Combined Statement*

Receipts

Relief purposes.....	\$177,225.36‡
Administrative, investigational and educational purposes.....	8,020.92§
Total receipts.....	<u>\$185,246.28</u>

Disbursements

Relief purposes.....	\$167,929.06||
Administrative, investigational and educational purposes.....	8,020.92a
Total disbursements.....	<u>\$175,949.98</u>
Balance on hand, December 31, 1915.....	9,296.30
Total.....	<u>\$185,246.28</u>

* Funds used for administrative and general purposes were specifically contributed for such purposes.

† The cost of printing this report was met by a special contribution of \$275.00 from the Chairman of the Committee, and is not shown in either of the foregoing statements.

‡ Includes \$549.21 transferred from administrative and general fund.

§ Includes \$1,003.13 transferred from relief fund.

|| Includes \$1,003.13 transferred to administrative and general fund and \$500.00 refund of contribution.

a Includes \$549.21 transferred to relief fund.

PART II

PROGRAM FOR DEALING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN NEW YORK

SECTION 1. PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

A program for dealing adequately with unemployment in New York must place its strongest emphasis on the **prevention** of unemployment. After employment has been lost it is obviously more difficult to prevent the distress that follows. This discussion of a proposed program for dealing with unemployment in New York concerns itself with possible steps having a direct bearing upon unemployment, which may be taken *now* and in the *immediate future*, rather than with ultimate solutions.

Classification of the Unemployed

In the public mind the unemployed are likely to be thought of in the mass. An analysis of the unemployed, from the point of view of their usual industrial activity, divides them into four main classes. These classes, which must be taken into account in devising an adequate program for dealing with unemployment, may be defined as:

- 1 Those who have recently been and normally are in long time jobs—who have “steady jobs,” such as engineers, railway employees, clerks in wholesale and retail trade, etc.
- 2 Those who, when employed, shift from job to job, or from employer to employer—the seasonal workers, such as those in the building trades, contractor’s laborers, and in similar occupations.
- 3 Those whose employment is from day to day, or from hour to hour, who do not work by the week, but are subject to dismissal on a moment’s notice—the casual laborers such as workers along the docks, handy men and odd-job men of all kinds.
- 4 Those who are unable to perform regular labor, whether because of sickness, old age or some physical handicap, and those who have drifted into becoming tramps or loafers, “can’t works” and “won’t-works,”—the so-called unemployables.

The line of demarcation between these four classes of the unemployed is by no means clearly defined. Those of one class are constantly shifting up or down in accordance with the general state of employment. This classification, though approximate, is nevertheless sufficiently accurate to afford a sound basis for a constructive policy.

A constructive policy for dealing with unemployment to be fully effective, should be nation-wide. A sound local program, however well

worked out, depends for its complete success upon a comprehensive policy for the nation as a whole. In general outline and in particular direction a program for New York City must coincide in fundamentals with what would constitute a sound program for the United States.

Public Employment Exchanges

The first and most important need for preventing unemployment among those usually in long time jobs— class “1”—is the proper development of efficient machinery for making known the needs of employers in all parts of the city and of the country for workers, and for bringing such employers and workers together. The men belonging to this class, especially if they have long served and adapted themselves to the needs of a particular employer in an occupation not standardized, are at a more serious disadvantage than the men who, through irregular employment, are accustomed to apply from place to place. The public employment bureaus can perform an even more important service for the men who shift from job to job and from employer to employer—those in class “2.” It is impossible, especially in a City of the size of New York, for such men to know when they are wanted by any one of the thousands of employers whose demands for workers are constantly changing. The bureaus, by organizing the employment market so as to be at all times fully informed of the opportunities for employment which may be open to these seasonal workers, can prevent in the aggregate a large amount of unemployment which is otherwise inevitable.

New York City, through its public employment bureau,* and the State of New York through bureaus established in five cities of the State, including Brooklyn, have made good beginnings in this direction. About sixty public employment bureaus have been established in twenty-one states, in addition to about twenty bureaus which have been opened by municipalities, including New York State and City Bureaus.

Seasonal Employment and the Public Employment Bureau

It is not alone in the few well recognized “seasonal trades” that there are marked fluctuations in the number of workers required from time to time. Nearly all trades and occupations, as industry is at present organized, have their seasons of full and slack employment. Workers are being taken on and dismissed in considerable numbers in different industries at all times of the year, regardless of the changes of calendar seasons.†

Along with the specialization of industry and the highly specialized skill required for the performance of work in certain industries, it must be remembered that probably more than two-thirds of the working

* And three branches. See p. 38.

† See “Fluctuations in Employment,” p. 57.

population—those for whom unemployment is the greatest menace—are engaged in comparatively unskilled work. So far as these are concerned, unemployment might be almost wholly prevented were it not that the community has failed to organize its employment market.

Casual Labor and the Public Employment Bureau

More precarious than that of either the workman in long time jobs or in seasonal employment, is the employment of the casual laborer. It is this class (and the unemployable into which they easily merge) which looms large in the public eye in seasons of unusual disturbance of trade. To the public at large employment is thought of as insuring a livelihood if the hourly or daily wages, multiplied by the number of working days in the year, equal what is regarded as a fair wage. The casual laborer is rarely unemployed, in the sense of having no work, and yet never employed in the sense of being able to depend upon any certain amount of employment or income with any degree or regularity. He never knows from day to day whether he will be employed or unemployed. The dangling bait of a possible job, often at a reasonable enough hourly rate, keeps him in an attitude of "watchful waiting" with the chances of success and failure shared by scores of his fellows, each as uncertain as he is. It is the presence and persistence of this group, fostered by a lack of system of organizing the scattered and multifarious demands of many individual employers, which render futile all attempts permanently to improve employment conditions by creating relief works, emergency employment schemes, and tide-over wage plans, however necessary such undertakings may be when no adequate preventive measures have previously been employed.

The constant existence of this under-employed group, which constitutes the bulk of the workers in certain large divisions of industry, such as have been so thoroughly described in the English studies of dock laborers, goods porters and the like, and who are to be found on the fringe of nearly every industry as the "spare hands" and "busy season men," is the central fact towards which a community program must be directed.* This class of labor must be "decasualized" by proper organization, through public employment bureaus, so as to concentrate the hiring of such laborers in relatively few centers to which all employers and employees in the industry may turn for employers and employment.

Organizing the Employment Market

The real function of the public employment bureau in a plan for the prevention of unemployment, is not so much in the placing of individual out of work applicants in employment as in **organizing the**

* See "Fluctuations in Employment," p. 57.

employment market so as to prevent, as far as possible, seasonality in industry from resulting in seasonal unemployment, so far as any considerable number of workers is concerned. To perform properly the function of "dove-tailing" employment for the workers in various seasonal trades, the public employment bureau must reach out into the surrounding territory, secure the co-operation of the employing public, study the peculiarities and needs of the district in which it operates, know the times and the seasons when men are being taken on and laid off, and be informed of the general adaptability of the workers for service in the various industries and employments.

The public employment bureau is not only a business need. It is a necessary public function. As the public school organizes for the education of the child and is located conveniently to the homes of the children, so must the public employment bureau organize for the employment of the parent, and be located conveniently to the working places of the fathers.

In New York the two public bureaus, one at Lafayette and Leonard Streets, Manhattan, the other at 262 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, and in lesser degree the three additional experimental branches of the municipal bureau, supported in large part by private funds, one in East 76th Street, Manhattan, another in West 27th Street, Manhattan, and the third in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, are having a gratifying measure of support when all the circumstances are taken into account. The managers of the bureaus fully appreciate that these bureaus are only in the infancy of their development.

In Appendix I appears the recommendations of a committee appointed to sum up the results of a conference of sixty to seventy of the best informed students of and workers in the public employment bureau movement. This conference was called by the Mayor's Committee in conformance with its policy to work out a program for the future through conference with experts and practical workers.

As suggested by the program proposed and the experience of this and other countries, certain results are possible and should be worked for. The next immediate steps necessary are the following:

- 1 More support from employers.
- 2 More publicity for the work of the bureaus. (A joint committee representing State and Municipal bureaus, just appointed, is working out methods to accomplish this result.)
- 3 Better co-ordination of the work of all non-commercial agencies. (A "Federation of Non-Commercial Employment Agencies" has been organized and will effect this result.)
- 4 Unified development of the work of City, State and Federal bureaus now established. (A committee appointed by the United States Secretary of Labor is working to effect this result for the country as a whole, as well as locally.)

The following desirable steps which, however, require special effort and funds, should be taken:

- 1 Special employment centers in specialized industries.
- 2 Organizations of co-operative schemes (employers, employees, and the bureau) for hiring casual laborers at a few centers, rather than by each employer, as at present.
- 3 Extension of branches so as to reach all parts of the city.
- 4 With others, urge Congress to create an adequate system of federal employment bureaus.

Each of the above desirable steps requires money and effort, but the importance of the results to be obtained will amply repay the time and expenditure. The bureaus will, on the present basis, need the backing of private funds and private effort. To accomplish the extension of employment branches larger public appropriations are needed. These will probably follow public appreciation of the work of the bureaus.

"Decasualizing" Casual Labor

The experiences of the English labor exchanges illustrate what may be accomplished in the development of schemes to organize the employment market, though by no means has a full demonstration yet been made. The practical results of the experiments so far worked out by the English bureaus for the "decasualization of casual labor," warrant the belief that New York, by intelligent organized effort, can eliminate the harassing uncertainty of casual labor. To accomplish this the support of employers and employees and the general public is essential, principally through adequate support of public employment bureaus.

Employment among longshoremen, for example, is as casual in the port of New York as is conceivable. The men "shape" or form outside the gates of the piers in semi-circular fashion, three times a day, at 7 a. m., 1 p. m. and 7 p. m. They generally do not know whether they will be employed on any given day, nor have they the assurance, while employed, of employment beyond the hour in which they are working. Some steamship companies pay off each day. Some give preference, in an informal way, to "regular" men whom they hire when they have work for them. When a ship is to be loaded or unloaded, men often work right through the day and night to the limit of physical endurance. Naturally, such methods of hiring and working led to many men being quite content to accept irregularity as the normal manner of work. But the more thoughtful men realize the demoralizing effect of the casual nature of the work. A steady job and weekly pay is a comparatively unknown thing in this employment. The methods of hiring in vogue are survivals of a scrambling for jobs which seem incongruous in connection with the enormous capacity, the marvelous mechanical equipment, and the increasing speed and comfort of the ocean liner.

The English successes in organizing the most casual employments point the way to hopeful experiments in New York.

Manchester Cloth Porters

The first casual labor scheme introduced by the English exchanges was that in connection with the Manchester cloth porters.

In the warehouse district of that city 500 men were employed loading and unloading bales of cotton, by about 100 firms who take on men each week and 400 or 500 others who require a man or two occasionally. The employment was extremely irregular. The men gathered in the streets and drinking places, waiting for work. In May, 1910, the executive officer in charge of the labor exchanges for that district persuaded 56 employers to engage their men solely from a special labor exchange established in the center of the warehouse district under the supervision of an expert warehouseman. "Preference lists" were arranged so that individual firms might have the men they preferred. A waiting room with a cheap temperance restaurant was provided. Wages were paid each week through the labor exchange.

In the early part of 1913, 112 employers had come into the scheme. This number is reported to have increased by the winter of 1915, and over 450 employers are now said to be using the exchange each week.* This centralization while covering a small number of men, is important because of the extremely large number of employers compared with the number of workers, and because of the fact that, being unorganized, the men had sunk to the lowest possible level of employment. The total number of separate jobs provided in each month averaged 5,475 in 1911 and 5,160 in 1912. The number of days' work, per month, for each man for whom employment was found at all, averaged 12 in 1910, 16½ in 1911, and 15 in 1912.†

Liverpool Docks Scheme

Following the dock strike in Liverpool in 1911, and after a long series of negotiations with employers and representatives of the workmen, and an investigation of the whole question of the relation between the supply and demand of labor on the docks, 67 employers of shipmen, quaymen, and coalheavers, agreed upon a plan of employment since known as the "Liverpool Docks Scheme." This scheme involved the division of the docks into six districts with a central clearing house in each, and the registration, through these clearing houses, of all dockers who had been employed by any employer, or who were members of the union. Each registered docker received a brass tally without which he would not be employed by any employer. In each district "surplus stands" (16 in all) were provided at which the men were to assemble if they had not been hired during the regular time of hiring. Through the Board of Trade (the authority in charge of the labor exchanges) arrangements were worked out with the employers by which the men were paid either directly by the Board or by the employer, through the

* Frederic Keeling, "London Economic Journal," March, 1915.

† *Ibid.*

offices of the Board at the clearing house for the district in which they were registered. The men were thus enabled to secure their pay at one time and in one place regardless of the number of employers for whom they had worked during the period.*

Approximately 30,000 men were registered and working under the scheme.† The first year's experiment increased the percentage of men who had worked from 40 to 52 weeks, though not each day of each week, to nearly 45 per cent. 28 per cent. worked 48 weeks and over. In evaluating this plan of organizing the casual labor market it must be borne in mind that what has been accomplished in the first year is so much clear gain over what was an inchaote, disorganized and extremely uncertain employment. It marked the beginning of an intelligent effort to organize into an industry and a means of livelihood what had been well characterized as a gigantic system of outdoor relief.

A study of this interesting and valuable experiment, as described in "The First Year's Working of the Liverpool Docks Scheme," by R. Williams (Divisional Officer for the Northwestern Division of the Labor Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance), illustrates the extreme difficulty, as well as the necessity, of decasualizing an occupation in which the workers and employers have both become habituated to irregular employment, especially when such employment has been accompanied by a relatively high hourly rate of wages.

An earlier experiment, made prior to the establishment of labor exchanges, was that of the London and India docks, London, which resulted in increasing the percentage of regularity in the employment of dock labor from 16 per cent. in 1887 to 80 per cent during the succeeding 15 years.‡

Other Dock Schemes

At Goole, in July, 1912, a central employment scheme was arranged embracing about 1,000 men and 5 employers. Wages were paid through the offices of the labor exchange here as at Liverpool.

At Cardiff and Swansea the Board of Trade through the labor exchanges has inaugurated schemes dealing with ship repairers, affecting about 8,000 men and 33 employers.

At Devonport and Portsmouth arrangements were made in 1915 to organize the casual labor of the men engaged in coaling warships.

At Sunderland, dock laborers to the number of 1,000 are employed through the labor exchange. The scheme does not involve the payment of wages through the exchange.

* The general management and oversight of the scheme is in the hands of a joint committee of employers and employees, with the officer of the labor exchange as secretary. All questions of policy are referred to this committee for decision.

† Union records show the membership of the union to have been 27,200 in July, 1912, when the first registration was taken.

‡ Beveridge, "Unemployment," p. 89.

Organized Schemes Dealing With Seasonal Workers in England

LIVERPOOL COTTON WAREHOUSEMEN: In July, 1910, arrangements were made by which from 250 to 300 employers agreed to engage their warehousemen through a special labor exchange in the warehouse quarter of the city. The number of workers varied during the season from 1,200 to 4,000.

FRUIT AND HOP GROWING INDUSTRIES: Efforts have been made with some success to organize seasonal labor, largely female, in the fruit and hop growing districts of Blairgowrie, Maidstone and Worcester. 3,354 vacancies were filled during the first summer season through a special office opened in one of these towns.

BUILDING TRADES—LEICESTER: Practically all of the employers in the building trades have made an agreement to engage all their workers through the labor exchange. Approximately 2,000 men are covered in this arrangement.

The English labor exchanges are much assisted in organizing schemes affecting casual and seasonal employment by the operations of the unemployment insurance sections of the National Insurance Act. Section 99 of that act provides that employers may make arrangements through the labor exchanges so that these exchanges may perform for them the duties imposed by this act in the collection and stamping of employees' insurance books. The act further provides that the employment of different individuals during a given week, if made through the labor exchange, may be considered for the purposes of employers' contributions as the continuous employment of a single workman, regardless of the number of different individuals employed during any such week. Similar concessions are made to the workmen registering at the labor exchange.

Regularizing the Demand for Labor

The two characteristic features of industry which a program for the prevention of unemployment must take into account are the fluctuations in industrial activity due to periodic depressions, and those occurring in normal times due to changes in the seasons, the caprices of fashion, the introduction of new processes, and from other well known causes. These fluctuations have been designated as cyclical, seasonal and casual. The first recur at periodic intervals of years, the second occur with some regularity within the year in the separate trades affected, while the third involve fluctuations from day to day in certain industrial groups. The public employment bureau, as previously pointed out, can deal with the effects of these fluctuations, and in some measure prevent or minimize the amount of unemployment which would otherwise result. But when the total volume of business falls below a certain minimum, as during the winter of 1914-1915, the public employment bureaus are helpless to fill the gap.

Planning Public Expenditures to Take up the Slack

No complete figures are available showing the difference between the total number of the employed and the wages earned in slack years as compared with years of active trade. For that reason we are unable to gauge the difference, in percentage, between the total amount of employment and earnings in normal and abnormal years. Estimates have been made that a decrease of from 8 per cent. to 10 per cent. in the new construction work of the country is reflected in a marked depression in general business and consequently in employment.

To offset this decrease in times of depression, in the average of normal business, some added stimulus to employment must be given if the recurring serious unemployment, due to this cause, is to be combatted. Evidently private industry cannot supply this stimulus. It must come from the organized community through its governmental activities.

Public expenditures may be planned, it is urged, where possible, from the point of view of employment needs without sacrificing anything of the real purpose and intent for which the expenditures are to be made. It is suggested that the city, state and national governments so plan their expenditures as to tend to neutralize and in some degree to overcome the decreased demands of private employers for workmen. The English statistician Bowley estimated that if, during the decade preceding his testimony before the British Poor Law Commission,* between three and four per cent. of the annual appropriation for public works and services (or about an average of \$20,000,000 yearly) had been set aside in normal years and expended in times of depression, this amount would have been sufficient to have offset the wage loss due, during the decade, to commercial depression.

This principle has been applied in Great Britain by the Development Commission, (Development and Road Funds Act, Great Britain, 1909,) which recommends to the Treasury allowances by grant or loan for undertakings by government departments, or through such departments to public authorities and educational institutions, of the development of agricultural, forestry, fisheries and other rural interests. Under the Road Funds Act, and through the Road Fund Board (a subordinate activity of the Development Commission) advances are made to county councils and other highway authorities for the construction and improvement of roads. The commissioners at the outset decided upon a comprehensive plan of development. In their report for the year ending March 31st, 1913, the commissioners stated that they "Consider that any detailed scheme . . . should provide, with due regard to economy and efficiency, for varying the extent of the operations prescribed from year to year, and that such variations shall be governed by the effect of the afforestation works on employment, and should be arranged in relation to the state of the labor market and to the aggregate demand

* Evidence of Mr. A. L. Bowley, Reader in Statistics, London School of Economics, University of London before the British Poor Law Commission, March 27, 1907, Minority Report, p. 658.

for labor in the United Kingdom as reflected in the Board of Trade's Index Number of Unemployment or otherwise."*

A sum equalling \$5,000,000 has been set aside by the Road Fund Board (Report for year ending March 31, 1915,) "to be used for works to be carried out in a period of trade depression." When the war broke out the board curtailed its general appropriations for road development but immediately made advances to the amount of about \$1,000,000 to local highway authorities in whose districts there was distress due to the war. Arrangements were also made to approve projects in road development to the additional amount of about \$10,500,000 in the event of there being sufficient unemployment to require that more work be undertaken in order to prevent distress.† Up to March 31, 1915, these latter amounts had not been needed, but were available if needed, without delay, as a preventive of unemployment.

Some effort has been made in German cities to carry on during the winter months and in dull years an increased amount of necessary work. The most complete plan is that in Düsseldorf.‡ The German methods, though meritorious, take on more the form of winter relief work for the unemployed than that of the British Development Commission.

Planning public improvements with regard to the state of employment would mean that a general scheme would be laid out covering a period of from seven to ten years.§ In each normal business year a certain percentage of the public improvements program could be deferred, i.e., put into a sinking fund against dull times. When the lean years occur and private employers lay off help, which would be indicated by information as to the state of employment furnished by the Department of Labor and the public employment bureaus, the state and the city would at once begin work on a deferred public improvements program in accordance with a well-worked out plan, as above suggested.

This does not mean that all public improvements would be forced into such a program. Public necessity would take precedence. Such public improvements as must be prosecuted at once or with continuing regularity need not be interfered with. There are, however, certain undertakings, large and small, which the state and municipality must provide for and which, taken together, with due regard to public needs and efficient and economical management, may be prosecuted as well in one bad year as to be scattered over three to five busy years.

Planning public improvements in accordance with such a program does not mean employing the unemployed on municipal relief works.

* This principle is applied to other projects recommended by the Development Commission and to the highway development promoted by the Road Board.

† All approved projects are stated by the Board to be necessary works, "but no grants are to be made unless distress arising from lack of employment should occur." Fifth Annual Report, p. 17.

‡ See p. 89.

§ Such a program carried out by a city, state or the national government would properly include such a percentage of public expenditures, other than "public improvements" and "public works," as would be practical. Clothing, blankets, shoes, arms, and other equipment for army and navy, post office extensions and repairs, historical documents, etc., are suggestive.

It proposes that public improvements be carried forward through the letting of contracts, or by direct employment, in accordance with the accustomed and usual procedure. It is not proposed that there shall be deviation from the regular procedure other than that involved in planning ahead and putting into effect the larger part of this program in years when it would have a steadying effect on general employment rather than in years when private employers are busily engaged. Contracts would be let in the usual manner and workmen hired at the standard rate of pay, as is customary. No preference is to be given the "unemployed" nor is there to be any departure in any respect from accustomed methods of hiring, supervision or discharge of workmen.

Such a program of planning public improvements and utilizing public expenditures to promote regularity of employment is exactly opposed to that of "employing the unemployed" on public works. The former in no wise departs from sound public policy and established procedure. The weakness of all relief works undertaken by city governments after wide-spread unemployment has occurred, is that such works are almost invariably expensive and extravagant; that the unemployed are of so diversified a character that a proper working force can not be secured; that, at best, relief works are called into being only after unemployment has occurred. A flexible public improvements program such as has been outlined as a preventive measure and has no relation to relief or charity.*

In addition to what might be done in developing a public improvements program over a period of years, or controlling expenditures within the year, some relief could be accomplished in steadying employment by arranging for purchases and deliveries of non-perishable products so as to permit deliveries at such times and in such quantities as to allow their manufacture in slack seasons. With the expenditure of approximately \$25,000,000 annually by the City of New York in the purchase of supplies, equipment and materials, there will be opportunity for a certain definite influence in steadying employment by means of the methods herein suggested.

Regularization by Private Industry

Labor Shift or "Turn Over"

A problem that has been receiving an increasing amount of attention from the managers of progressive business concerns is the constant stream of employees going in and out of employment. In industries maintaining a more or less constant working force, this accounts in the aggregate for a surprisingly large number of changes in employment

* Mr. N. I. Stone, former expert to the U. S. Tariff Board, in an address before the Efficiency Society in January, 1915, on "A National Employment Reserve" suggested that a national program of road building be laid out by which the national, state and local communities would each contribute to the expense in equal proportion, and that the construction of this national highway system be prosecuted with regard to the state of employment.

during the year, which in turn accounts for a considerable amount of unemployment.

Mr. Magnus W. Alexander of the General Electric Company of West Lynn, Massachusetts, in a recent address gives the result of his study of large, medium and small manufacturing concerns throughout the United States.* In this address, depicting the economic waste of "Hiring and Firing," Mr. Alexander summed up information gathered from twelve factories in the mechanical industries located in six different states, the smallest having less than 300 and the largest more than 10,000 employes on their payrolls. In these twelve factories "Statistics show that 72.8 per cent. of the employes engaged during the year had not been employed in these factories before, while 27.2 per cent. had worked in the same factories during one or several previous periods."

Mr. Alexander further reported that "as a general proposition these percentages will be found to apply fairly well to any normal employment in the mechanical industries," and continued as follows:

"This group of factories gave employment to 37,274 employees at the beginning and 43,971 at the end of the year 1912. The net increase in the working force as between January and December 31, amounted, therefore, to 6,697 employees, while during the same period 42,571 people had been hired and accordingly, 35,874 had dropped out of the employment for whatsoever reason. In other words, about six and one-third times as many people had to be engaged during the year as constituted the permanent increase of the force at the end of that period. . . . The important fact, however, stands out that 42,571 people had to be engaged during the year in order to increase the working force by only 6,697."

After deducting the changes in the working force that would naturally occur from death, sickness, withdrawals, discharges for justifiable causes, Mr. Alexander concluded that there was apparently an unnecessary engagement of 22,031 of the 42,571 employees engaged during the year.

The managers of the industries studied by Mr. Alexander estimated the cost of hiring and breaking in a new employee at all the way from \$30 to \$200 per employee, these estimates varying with the diversity of the industries represented. The head of a large automobile manufacturing concern stated that the engagement of a new employee involves the expenditure of at least \$100. One machine tool builder said that in his plant it would amount to \$150.†

After a careful analysis of the cost factors involved, and taking into account the employees lost through "justifiable causes" of all kinds, Mr. Alexander reported: "The result shows that the apparently unnecessary engagement of 22,031 employees within one year in the twelve factories under investigation involved an economic waste of \$831,000. This amount . . . may reach a million dollars if the decrease of

* "Hiring and Firing," an address by Magnus W. Alexander, July, 1915.

† Based upon a careful study by a machine tool builder in whose plant 1,000 men were hired, while the permanent increase of the force was only 50.

profits due to a reduced production and the increase of expense on account of an enlarged equipment investment are taken into consideration."

Figures furnished the Mayor's Committee by several of the larger industries showed the following:

In one establishment in 1914 over 90,000 applicants for employment were interviewed, over 5,600 were hired, 1,200 discharged and suspended, 2,600 laid off, 4,700 were lost by resignation, and a total of approximately 8,500 out of an average working force of 10,000 passed in and out of the plant in a year.

Another large industry paid \$518,000 in wages to salesmen who remained in the Company's employ less than six months. Another interviewed 24,000 people, hired about 3,000, and laid off or lost by resignation over 2,100 to maintain an average force of 3,000.

A Philadelphia textile firm retained one-half of all employees hired from 1907 to 1915 less than ten weeks. Seventy-four per cent. of all the persons hired remained less than one year.*

Studies made by the New York State Factory Investigating Commission showed that:

"In ten confectionery establishments of New York City, 3,138 persons were employed in order to maintain an average force of 953.† In one shirt factory only 122, or 29 per cent., of a total of 415 employed in one year remained 49 weeks or more.‡ 1,657 employees were added and 1,571 dropped during one year in nine paper box factories in order to keep up a working force averaging 792. 229 women operatives in this industry informed representatives of the Factory Investigating Commission that they had lost on the average five weeks a year through this shifting process.§

"In eleven large department stores, with an average total force of 27,264, there were added during the year 44,308 persons and 41,859 left or were dropped during the same period. One store employed 12,159 workers during the year to maintain an average force of 3,750."||

For the correction of these evils, the first step necessary is the establishment of employment departments by the industries affected. The Society for the Study of Employment Problems, organized through the activities of the Mayor's Committee, and composed of responsible managers having charge of employment policies in some of the largest industries in New York, will make the study and improvement of employment methods its special field of effort.**

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics is now engaged in a study of employment policies and the labor "turn over" in all plants in the United States known to them to have established employment departments. Figures from this investigation, which will be the first comprehensive study of its kind, will not be available for about a year.

* Willits, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, August, 1915, p. 129.

† Fourth Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. II, p. 324.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 92.

** See "Business Organizing to Study Its Employment Problems," p. 40.

*Fluctuations in Employment.**

The tremendous fluctuations in employment in private industries are fully realized by but few of the managers of such industries, for the reason that figures are not generally available.

According to recent studies of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission the number of persons employed in any one week in 38 representative retail stores, in eight different localities outside of New York City, employing from 18 to 1,240 persons each, varied from 11,726, the largest number employed, to 8,266, the smallest number. The average number employed was 9,400. Similarly, the largest amount paid in wages during one week was \$107,409, the smallest \$77,966. At the lowest point the number of employes is 11.8 per cent. and the wage payment is 12.5 per cent. below the average.† At the highest point employment and wages were 24.7 per cent., and 20.5 per cent. above their respective averages. 44 per cent. more people were employed at the height of the season than in the slack season. In New York City 18 of the largest department stores showed fluctuations in the number of persons employed of approximately 50 per cent. of the regular force. In some stores the variation reached 66 per cent.‡

In 57 shirt factories in New York State 10,150 persons were employed in the rush weeks as compared with 7,657 in the slack season, a variation of 30 per cent. The fluctuations in wages amounted to 46 per cent. When it is known that the average wage of women workers in this industry in New York City under normal conditions of trade is only \$6.67, the serious effects of such variations can be appreciated.§

In the paper box industry the fluctuations in employment are reflected rather in the pay-roll than in the number of employees. This is accounted for by the prevalent piece work system reducing earnings rather than numbers employed. There were oscillations in wages among the 6,300 persons in the paper box industry studied by the Factory Investigation Commission ranging from \$10,000 to \$15,000 within a few weeks. These variations in weekly earnings ran from 10 per cent. above the average weekly earnings of \$7.36 in the case of 194 women questioned to 23 per cent. below the average.||

In 45 firms in New York City and 16 up-state firms manufacturing confectionery, the number of employees varied in one year from 9,700 during one month to 7,100 eight months later, an annual displacement of 27 per cent. The variations in wages paid were from \$79,000 in one week to \$52,600 another,—a drop from high to low of 34 per cent.**

A study made by Miss Mary Van Kleeck of the millinery trade shows variations in the total force of 28 wholesale shops from 1,168 in the busiest week to 426 in the slackest. The minimum force was but 36 per cent. of the maximum, showing a displacement of 64 per cent. The wages varied so that in the dullest week only 29 per cent. of the amount earned in the busiest week was paid. In 29 retail shops the maximum force was 255, the minimum 63, or only 25 per cent. of the maximum. Only 237 out of a total of 3,177 workers in the millinery trade worked over 50 weeks. 61 per cent. worked less than 20 weeks. As Miss Van Kleeck puts it, "From 60 to 75 of

* For a more adequate treatment of this subject see: Fourth Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission; "Wages and Regularity of Employment in the Dress and Waist Industry," Bulletin 146, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics; "Wages and Regularity of Employment in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry," Bulletin 147, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics; "Artificial Flower Makers," Mary Van Kleeck; "Women in the Book Binding Trade," Mary Van Kleeck; "Irregular Employment and the Living Wage for Women," Irene Osgood Andrews, American Labor Legislation Review, June, 1915.

† Fourth Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. II, p. 90.

‡ Fourth Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. II, pp. 90, 92.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

|| Third Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission, p. 130.

** Fourth Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. II, pp. 320-321.

every hundred workers employed in the busy season were superfluous in the dull season."*

In the artificial flower trade Miss Van Kleeck's study showed variations in 101 firms from a maximum working force of 4,470 to a minimum of 873. Only five shops out of 113 studied were busy all the year. Only 23 per cent. had a season longer than 8 months.†

In the book binding trade Miss Van Kleeck found that 24 per cent. of the maximum force employed in 223 binderies in the busy season, are "laid off" in the dull season. "These figures indicate that the demand for workers so fluctuates that one out of every four bindery women needed in the busy season is superfluous when the book market is dull."‡

In the cloak, suit and skirt Industry in New York City, 90 shops employed, 2,158 week-workers in March, 1913, but only 1,120 in December, 1912. Of 4,858 persons employed in 16 occupations in the trade, but 860, or 17.7 per cent., were employed more than 40 weeks. The pay-roll for the busiest week was 280 per cent. higher than for the lowest.§

In 260 shops of the dress and waist Industry in 1912, 20,524 workers were employed in March as against 10,304 in August, a difference of about 50 per cent. The average wage earned by all the workers in the industry during 1912 was 73 per cent. of that earned in the busiest weeks. That is to say, a worker who could earn \$15 weekly in the busy week would average \$10.94 throughout the year. A \$10 worker would average \$7.33.||

The study of conditions of employment in the iron and steel industries made under the direction of Charles P. Neill, then Commissioner of Labor, refers to the opinions of the workmen that questions affecting hours of labor and rates of wages are not of more importance than the serious irregularity of work and frequent unemployment with the resulting uncertainties of income. The figures show that 21.9 per cent. of the yearly 91,000 employed were able to work less than 40 weeks in the highly prosperous year of 1910. Less than 40 per cent. of the entire force worked 48 weeks or over. This irregularity of employment affected annual earnings so that "in producing departments" operating "six months or more during 1910, 44.1 per cent. of the 86,590 employes had not the opportunity to earn as much as \$600 per year."**

Irregularity of Employment and the Worker

The citations in the preceding pages of irregularity of employment among workers in the various industries mentioned, are indicative of what all experienced observers believe to obtain in practically all manufacturing and distributive employment. The building trades, general contracting, longshore work, team driving, and other general employments are known to be subject to marked irregularities which in the ag-

* "Wages in the Millinery Trade," Mary Van Kleeck, Fourth Report New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. II, pp. 411, 417, 432.

† "Artificial Flower Makers," Mary Van Kleeck, pp. 40-41.

‡ "Women in the Book Binding Trade," Mary Van Kleeck, pp. 107-108.

§ Bulletin 147, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 11.

|| Bulletin 146, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 158, 161.

** Senate Document 110; "Conditions of Employment in the Iron and Steel Industry," Volume 3, pp. 213, 220.

gregate, result in serious unemployment. The secretary of the United Board of Business Agents of the Building Trades Unions of New York City, estimates the average annual earnings in normal years of the skilled workmen in the building trades to be about 60 per cent. of the possible earnings, or approximately \$900, and for unskilled workmen about \$600. Neither this estimate nor the figures previously cited as to irregularity of employment in the various industries referred to, are for abnormal years. The years 1912 and 1913, when the investigations of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission were made, were years of normal employment. The returns obtained by the Mayor's Committee in December, 1914, from 404 factories, showed that 13.5 per cent. fewer persons were employed during the third week of that month than during the corresponding week of December, 1913. There was also an increase of 177 per cent. in the number of part time workers, further accentuating the loss of annual income due to unemployment.

It is obviously a truism that the welfare of the workers of New York depends upon the certainty of employment in the industries upon which they depend for their maintenance. These industries are collectively and individually the magnet which attracts the working men and women to the city. The industries, in turn, depend upon the presence of a constant number of willing and efficient workers. The public interest demands that those who have been drawn into any industry and are willing and efficient shall be reasonably certain of regular and continuous employment. The ideal which New York has a right to expect its industries to approximate, or at least strive for, is that every worker who offers his services shall be entitled to a "steady job." These workers are dependent upon their weekly wages for sustenance. It is not enough that the weekly wage rate (or the hourly rate as is the practice in many trades), shall be sufficient for the week (or the hour). Annual earnings must be adequate to maintain the workers and their families in comfort.

In affirming that wages should be sufficient to maintain "an average adequate for the maintenance of a decent standard of living throughout the year," the right of the worker in an industry to permanence and regularity of employment, (assuming competence and willingness to work) was recognized *as an ideal aim, though not a present right* by the Council of Conciliation appointed by the Mayor in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry.* The Council reported:

"That while it is the dictate of common sense, as well as common humanity, in the slack season to distribute work as far as possible equally among wage earners of the same level and character of skill, this practice can not be held to imply the right to a permanent tenure of employment, either in a given shop or even in the industry as a whole. A clear distinction must be drawn between an ideal aim and a present right.

"The constant fluctuations—the alternate expansions and contractions to which the cloak-making industry is so peculiarly subject, and its highly competitive character, enforce this distinction. *But an ideal aim is not, therefore, to be stigmatized*

* Findings of the Mayor's Council of Conciliation in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry, August 5, 1915.

*as utopian, nor does it exclude substantial approximations to it in the near future. Such approximations are within the scope of achievement, by means of earnest efforts to regularize employment and by such increase of wages as will secure an average adequate for the maintenance of a decent standard of living throughout the year."**

Mr. Justice Higgins of the Australian Commonwealth Arbitration Court in a recent decision fixing a minimum hourly rate of wages for dock and wharf laborers under the minimum wage law, made an award based upon the evidence that the average number of hours per week which the men could obtain work, was 30.† The wage rates recommended by the Council of Conciliation in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry were based upon the practical acceptance of the unions' contention that employment on the average, amounted to not more than 26 weeks in the year.‡ The Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Boards affirmed that "regularity of employment is as vital to the worker as a living wage."§

In certain highly organized trades (from the trade union point of view) the hourly rates of wages contended for by the employees and granted by the employers, are based upon the recognition of a conceded considerable amount of unemployment. These concessions, however, prevail mainly where the absence of machinery makes the skill of the workman the most important factor in the industry.

Mrs. Irene Osgood Andrews, in summing up the conclusions of a careful study of irregularity of employment and the living wage,|| says:

"It is found that for trained and experienced workers (women) . . . the actual income falls from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. below the possible income based on the rate of pay.

"An investigation by the Connecticut Commission on the Conditions of Wage-Earning Women and Minors** showed that for 942 females in the cotton industry the weekly earnings were 13.9 per cent. less than full time earnings; in the silk industry for 1,175 females weekly earnings were 18.2 per cent. less than full time earnings; in brass factories for 662 females, the figures show a loss of 14.1 per cent.; in the metal trades for 2,541 females the figures show a loss of 13.9 per cent. These results are taken from 50 factories in 14 localities."

It is often carelessly assumed that the workers called into a trade by the demands of its busy seasons are employed at some other work during the rest of the year, with no definite notion of what the assumed "other employment" is. The facts so far available give no warrant for this assumption. After a careful investigation of many industries employing women, the Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage

* Not italicized in original.

† Survey, August 1, 1914.

‡ Brief submitted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Unions, July, 1915.

§ Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Boards, 1912, p. 162.

|| "Irregular Employment and the Living Wage for Women," Irene Osgood Andrews, *American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1915, p. 297.

** Report of February 1, 1913, quoted in *American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1915, p. 298.

Boards in 1911 said: "No (female) worker can count on casual work or a supplementary job to fill in the time lost by industrial causes."*

Miss Odencrantz, writing in the "Survey" for May 1st, 1909, states that one-quarter of 426 girls who had graduated from a trade school had left the trades for which they were trained because their employment was too irregular in favor of others promising greater regularity of employment.

The New York Commission on Employer's Liability stated in its report on Unemployment:†

"There is little evidence, except in highly organized trades like building, to show that wages are adjusted in such a manner as to afford an adequate annual income to the wage earner despite loss of time through unemployment. It would be an advantage to the employer to retain his employees in constant employment throughout the year, if he had to pay them in the busy seasons an additional sum to enable them to live in the slack months. That employers do not give steady employment is evidence that wages are not adjusted on any such basis."

Discussing "unemployment and the wage scale"‡ in a recent paper, Miss Mary Van Kleeck concludes:

"If wages are on the whole highest in the industries in which the fluctuations of employment are greatest, the fact is not reflected in the best statistical information available on the subject. On the contrary, the census statistics seem to indicate that there is no consistent or significant difference in wages between the industries in which unemployment is least and those in which it is most prevalent."

Irregularity of employment is an increasingly vital factor as affecting the annual incomes of the wage earner whose tenure of employment is by the day or week, in view of the growing tendency of industrial establishments to be operated in larger units with a corresponding increase in the proportion of wage earners to the whole number engaged in the industry. Of the whole number of persons engaged in manufactures in 1909, 6,615,046, or seven-eighths of a total of 7,676,578, were wage earners. About one-sixteenth additional were clerks.§ "In twelve industries, the wage earners constitute over 90 per cent. of the total number engaged, while in 37 of the 43 industries given in the Census Abstract they constitute over 80 per cent. of the total number engaged."|| In the most highly organized industry of all, the railroad industry, more than 99 per cent. of the persons engaged in the industry are subordinate employees.** In four leading highly organized industries the average per cent. of wage earners to the whole number engaged in the industry is illustrated by the following table taken from the Thirteenth Census (p. 453).

* "Irregular Employment and the Living Wage," Irene Osgood Andrews, *American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1915, p. 302.

† New York Commission on Employer's Liability, etc., 3d Report, "Unemployment and the Lack of Farm Labor," p. 53.

‡ "The Effect of Unemployment on the Wage Scale," Mary Van Kleeck, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, August, 1915.

§ Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, p. 452.

|| "Income," Scott Nearing, p. 65.

** Statistics of Railways in the United States, 1911, op. cit., p. 27.

INDUSTRY	Total No. Employees	Wage Earners Average No.	Wage Earners Average Per Cent.
Boots and Shoes, including cut stock and findings.....	215,923	198,297	91.8
Cotton Goods, including cotton small wares..	387,771	378,880	97.7
Foundry and Machine Shop Products.....	615,485	531,011	86.3
Iron and Steel, Steel Works and Rolling Mills.....	260,762	240,076	92.1

The proportion of wage earners (shop force) to the total number of employees in the factories in New York City for the year 1913, is summarized by industrial groups from official reports in the following table.*

INDUSTRY	Total No. Employees	Office Force	Shop Force	Per Cent. Shop Force
Stone, Clay and Glass Products...	14,248	1,057	13,191	92.0
Metals, Machinery and Conveyances.....	125,949	12,616	113,333	89.0
Wood Manufactures.....	46,875	2,520	44,355	94.0
Furs, Leather and Rubber Goods..	47,061	2,820	44,241	94.0
Chemicals, Oils, Paints, etc.....	22,714	3,413	19,301	84.0
Paper.....	1,537	100	1,437	93.0
Printing and Paper Goods.....	86,518	11,740	74,778	86.0
Textiles.....	34,962	1,582	33,380	95.0
Clothing, Millinery, Laundering, etc.....	312,254	11,716	300,538	96.2
Food, Liquors and Tobacco.....	82,579	5,372	77,207	93.0
Water, Light and Power.....	7,869	335	7,534	95.0
Grand Total.....	782,566	53,271	729,295	93.3

The conclusion arrived at by the most serious and careful students of the problem, and confirmed by the experience of the few large employers whose experiments will be cited,† is that while under the present conditions of industrial development a certain amount of irregularity of employment, and consequently of unemployment, is inevitable, the existing tremendous fluctuations in employment can, to a considerable degree, be controlled by special effort. This is more particularly true in the more highly organized industries in which facilities exist for study of the conditions of manufacture, the state of the trade, and means of marketing the product. If planning for steadiness of employment were made a function of management, as in the case of the large industry hereafter to be referred to,‡ a field for hopeful experiment would be opened up. The real economies resulting from a more efficient and productive labor force, which a steady working force would undoubtedly be, should be as good business as the movement for better sanitation, good lighting, and reduction in the number of industrial accidents has everywhere proved itself to be.

* Compiled from Table VI, Second Annual Industrial Directory, N. Y. State Department of Labor, 1913. (These figures do not include proprietors.)

† Page. 63.

‡ See p. 63.

"Statistics of employment show that the aggregate of employment during any given year does not vary much."* "These baneful irregularities of employment appear inevitable so long as they remain permissible, as do sweating wages and other conditions of labor. When they are no longer permissible, the organized intelligence of the trade will adjust itself to the new conditions generally with little or no loss, often with positive gain."† "There is no slack season for the kingdom as a whole."‡

The immediate opportunity and duty devolving upon managers of industry is an organized effort within industry itself for a regularized and controlled production. The steps to be taken, and the progress which can be made, will be variable in accordance with the conditions of each industry. In certain seasonal trades, such as the needle trades, a concerted effort by the industry as a whole, is essential. Even a concerted effort in these industries will accomplish results slowly because of the great number of small establishments, the lack of standardization, and the varying demands of the changeful purchaser. The metal trades and other less variable groups should find the task less difficult.

Progress Made in Regularizing Industry

Scattered experiments here and there throughout the country to which little if any publicity has been given, indicate what may be accomplished if employers themselves make an effort to cut down the fluctuations in employment occurring in their factories.

The manager of the "Planning Department"§ of a large industry which has accomplished a great deal in the last ten years to insure uniformity of production and regularity of employment in its factory says:

"That for any manufacturer to secure uniform daily production and partially to eliminate the evils of seasonal production requires practically an entire reorganization of the business with this as one of the primary objects. Itself not a part of the organizing methods, it is a primary objective and must permeate every fibre of the whole institution."

The industry above referred to does an annual business of about \$15,000,000, employs over 10,000 persons, and has factories located in a number of different towns. The normal period of unemployment in this industry prior to definite attempts to regularize it was from twelve to twenty-five weeks, eight to sixteen weeks being due to seasonal changes, two to four weeks to fluctuations in the volume of business, two to five weeks to lack of work or stock. At the present time, the pay-rolls from January to December, in some of the factories affected, do not vary by as much as one per cent. The company secures the co-operation

* "Work and Wealth," Hobson, 1914, p. 230.

† *Ibid.*, p. 230.

‡ "Prevention of Destitution," Sidney Webb, p. 124.

§ The term is here used to denote planning of rate and time of production, and is thus indicative of a new attitude towards the employment problem.

of its distributors in obtaining their orders so that it may plan its work on monthly estimates submitted at the beginning of the season. A special department has been created for the manufacture of special goods. This product is sold outside of the regular market and is utilized to control the irregularity of employment by creating a market for a product which can be manufactured in otherwise dull periods. A policy has been developed resulting in a standard daily production which has not varied in accordance with the amount of orders on hand. Work is routed through the factory at a uniform rate in accordance with plans previously worked out. The vacation period is accomplished by shutting down the factory for one week in the summer.

One clothing manufacturer believes that much may be done in a seasonal industry to control the seasonal fluctuations. His factory conducts a special campaign through its sales department for slack period orders. By concentrating his advertising in certain periods of the year and on certain staple numbers, this manufacturer can run his factory for a much longer period than under "no-planning" conditions. In four years this employer has reduced his labor turn-over by 80 per cent.

A large manufacturer in a special field, with the co-operation of his customers, has been able to transform a highly seasonal department of his business with much slack time and over time into a division which gives fairly regular employment to his workers. He found that he was able to keep experienced workers throughout the year, to improve the product and to give greater satisfaction to customers. Through the consequent savings in increased business, he has been able to recover several times over the initial expense of carrying the goods for some months for later shipment. This concern was astonished at the improvement in quality of its output, not having realized how much its product had suffered under the old system of slack and rush periods.

A large foundry by making a complete analysis of sales during several months, of various patterns and sizes manufactured by it, found that a considerable proportion of its product was not subject to seasonal fluctuations, and was enabled to estimate accurately the amount of product that might be made up in dull seasons in readiness for the market. In times of depression its advertising and selling force concentrate on special designs and patterns, thus creating a new market. This firm and many others have done much to cut down the "turn over" of labor through its employment department and through supervising the discharge of labor by foremen.

A Philadelphia firm with a working force in 1914 of 1,000 employees, reduced its labor turn-over in three years from 100 per cent. to less than 19 per cent.* This meant that 814 fewer men were "hired and fired" in 1914 than in 1912.†

* Joseph H. Willits, "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," August, 1915 p. 131.

† One method used to accomplish this result was a slightly higher scale of wages.

Another Philadelphia periodical publishing house found new work for its mailing force instead of laying it off each month as theretofore.*

Public Responsibility and Public Pressure

Individual Responsibility a Minor Factor in Unemployment

The limits of this discussion do not permit an exhaustive, or even adequate, treatment of the causes of unemployment or of the degree of responsibility to be placed upon any industrial or social group or institution. What is aimed at is a purely pragmatic end—"What can be done about it?" Unemployment is a loss to industry, a cause of "poor business" and "dull trade" to the retailer, a misfortune to some, a tragedy to many, and of distinct concern to the community.

Causes which may be traced to individual misfortune or personal failing exist, such as sickness, accident, inefficiency, etc. These account in the aggregate for a much smaller amount of unemployment than do the social and industrial causes. Indeed, it is admitted that much sickness in many occupations, and certainly industrial injury, is due to general and not individual causes. Prof. Irving Fisher in his "National Vitality" estimates that there are probably at all times in the United States, 3,000,000 people ill.† In "Industrial Accident Statistics,"‡ Frederick L. Hoffman estimates the number of industrial injuries in the country as a whole for the year 1913, involving a disability of more than four weeks, to be 700,000. Magnus W. Alexander "assumed that four per cent. of all employees are sick for sufficiently long periods to necessitate their replacement temporarily or permanently.§ No proofs are required that many are unemployed because of inefficiency, shiftlessness, etc., who must be dealt with as individuals.

The cumulative evidence brought out by every study of the fluctuations of employment and the causes of the displacement of workers, after taking personal fault and misfortune fully into account, points to the main causes of unemployment as beyond the control of the individual employee. Variations in the number of workers needed in busy and dull seasons result in the dismissal of many who are anxious and able to work. Changes in the weather, variations in output, general depression in business, any number of causes affecting the stability of a given trade, are beyond the influence of the individual.

In the days before workmen's compensation laws, volumes were filled with court decisions based upon an endeavor to ascertain whether the injured was negligent, whether he was hurt through the fault of a "fellow servant," or whether in accepting employment he assumed the risks of the trade. If neglect or fault or an assumed risk were proved,

* Morris L. Cooke, *Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, August, 1915, p. 154.

† "National Vitality," Irving Fisher, p. 34.

‡ Bulletin 157, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, March, 1915, p. 6.

§ "Hiring and Firing," an address by Magnus W. Alexander, p. 5.

the injured was compelled to bear the cost of the injury himself. Now that compensation laws are on our statute books, and New York has reached as high a standard as has been attained, time is no longer wasted and a family's welfare menaced by the fear of destitution because of "negligence," "fellow servant" or "assumption of risk." Industrial injuries have been recognized as incidents of industry. While the doctrine that accidents can be prevented was being preached with assiduity by the vanguard of the "safety first" workers, men were being killed and injured with a varying but certain regularity. Certain large and progressive employers put brains and money into a determined effort to reduce the number of such accidents. These efforts resulted in the reduction of accidents, and the saving of lives. Incidentally it was found to be profitable to safe-guard life and limb. The industries where active accident prevention work was carried on were able to show a saving in dollars and cents as well as in life and limb.

C. W. Price, in "Safety Engineering" for January, 1915, summarizes the recent organized activity in the prevention of accidents, as follows:

During the last five years the "Safety First Movement" demonstrated that it was possible to eliminate 75 per cent. of the deaths and serious accidents and reduce the number of days lost on account of injuries at least one-half.

The United States Steel Corporation in seven years (1906-1913) saved 11,074 men from being either killed or seriously injured.

The Illinois Steel Company reduced the injuries from 43 per cent. to 12 per cent. in six years.

One large concern has reduced the number of days lost over 72 per cent. since 1906.

A properly organized "Safety First" campaign will net any concern a dividend of at least 25 per cent. on the money invested and some plants now realize 50 per cent. on the investment in accident prevention.

The same progressive and humane employers whose foresight had led to the establishment of "safety" departments, provided relief and accident indemnities for the benefit of their injured employees. The less considerate and the less humane made no such provision for the maimed. Accident prevention was scattered and far from universal. The public became interested and finally alert to its responsibility for the injured and their dependents. Insurance took the place of negligence. The extra cost coming as a direct charge, and distributed over all industry, no longer penalized the humane employer and exempted the irresponsible. At the same time the relief societies and other charities were able to shift a burden they had been carrying, much against their will, for years.*

Not alone were the injured compensated, but there has been a tremendous increase in the efforts made to prevent accidents. Workmen's compensation laws serve as the public's lever by which pressure is brought on the industries to reduce accidents to the minimum. When

* "Industrial Accidents as a cause of pauperism in Germany have been eliminated (by workmen's compensation) almost altogether," Social Insurance, Rubinow, p. 487.

accidents "arising out of and in the course of his employment" occur, the workman's family is assured of a definite income while he is disabled.

Unemployment, in its chief manifestations, is an incident of industry. The element of personal fault is insignificant compared with the great industrial causes.

Public Responsibility

Public responsibility for unemployment arises out of the necessities of the case. Under existing conditions the great mass of men are dependent upon finding employment for the very existence of themselves and their families. They cannot employ themselves. They must look, in the main, to private industry for sustenance. Private industry does not assume responsibility for employing all those offering their labor at any given time. Nor is it expected to assume such responsibility since the essence of employment is that the worker shall be employed only when definite and profitable employment can be offered. The employees' need for work cannot be the deciding factor. But men who cannot find work must find food and shelter. Modern ethical standards do not permit that men, women and children should starve. The public ultimately provides for all who do not or cannot provide for themselves.

From another point of view, the public as consumer is the ultimate employer. Its demands indicate the avenues of employment which private employers must follow to serve its needs. Because the public's constantly changing demands compel the merchants and manufacturers, in many lines, to alternate between periods of rush and slack trade, it cannot avoid its due measure of responsibility. The public is deeply concerned because unemployment and irregularity of employment menace the social welfare and demoralize the standards of the wage earners to whom regularity of work is of fundamental importance.

The public's responsibility is far greater than that of any individual industry, because, through social legislation, it can to a large degree mitigate the evil effects of unemployment and take measures to prevent its recurrence. This it can accomplish by distributing the burden of the inevitable losses in such a way as to fall where they can most easily be borne, and in such degree as to bear most heavily where the greatest pressure is needed in order to stimulate greater regularity of employment. For these two purposes unemployment insurance has often been advocated as the best available social instrument. Practically, the loss to the individual can best be met by an averaging process and, its advocates say, by insurance methods. Insurance is a familiar expedient against death, accident, fire and calamity. European experience has made it familiar as a social expedient to save the workers and their families from dependence upon poor relief when confronted with sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment. In Great Britain and the Continent the public has assumed responsibility for the

provision of insurance against the chief economic risks to which its working population is exposed. All of these schemes of social insurance have as one important aim the prevention of destitution.

Public Pressure

Unemployment insurance may have an even more important result, i. e., the definite exertion of public pressure to prevent unemployment. This can be accomplished by a carefully worked out system of grading industries with respect to the unemployment ratio of each, when sufficient information has been collated to make such grading practical. Such a method would necessarily involve compulsory insurance against unemployment as a social safeguard, the same as workmen's compensation laws are (in this State) compulsory insurance against economic risks from accidental injury. Compensation laws insure against the total economic loss due to the injured workman's inability to work and not, of course, against injury *per se*. In effect, however, insurance against the contingency of accidental injury, operates to prevent accidents, in so far as prevention is humanly possible.

I. M. Rubinow in an address on sickness insurance points to the reduction of the mortality rate among members of German sick benefit societies from 99 per 10,000 in 1899 to 78 per 10,000 in 1908 as significant of the bearing of sickness insurance on prevention, though admitting the probable effect of other factors.* It is illustrative of this relation that of a total budget of one hundred million dollars, twenty million dollars was used for medical aid.

The British National Insurance Act, in addition to the incentives to the prevention of unemployment imposed by the flat rate for all insured trades, contains some suggestive provisions looking toward the regularization of industry, though the differential allowances are not great. For each workman for whom 45 weekly contributions have been made by the employer in the course of the year, a refund of one-third of the employer's contributions is given.† Another method for inducing employers to retain their workmen is the remission of the contributions of employers and workmen when in periods of depression the employer systematically works short time instead of laying off part of his force.‡

Per Contra, casual employment is penalized by requiring contributions from both employer and employee of one penny for one day's work, 2 pence for two days' work, 2½ pence for three days' work, and the regular rate for the week.§ The employment of these casual laborers through the labor exchanges enables six different men employed on six different days in a week to be counted, for the purposes of the act, as though but one man were employed.

* American Labor Legislation Review, June, 1913.

† Act of 1911, Sec. 91; 1914, Sec. 5.

‡ Act of 1911, Sec. 96; 1914, Sec. 7.

§ Act of 1911, Eighth Schedule.

SECTION II. INSURANCE AND RELIEF MEASURES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

Unemployment Insurance*

Insurance, to which the worker is entitled, has been advocated as preferable to any form of relief in that it comes as a right, and not as a grant conditioned on the good will of a benevolent organization. Unemployment insurance is little developed in this country. Several trade unions give out-of-work benefits, but this method of tiding-over is not so extensively utilized by American unions as by foreign, partly because of the higher rates of wages in the organized trades, but also because of less developed methods of mutual aid.

The Cigar Makers' International Union has administered out-of-work benefits for 25 years. From 1903 to 1906, years of bad trade, the union expended on this account as much as \$175,000 in one year, at a per capita cost of \$6.33. In 1912, disbursements on account of out-of-work benefits amounted to almost \$43,000 and cost the membership \$1.06 per capita. In times of good trade the union's out-of-work benefits cost as low as \$0.47 per capita. Payments equal \$3 per week for 6 weeks. After a period of 7 weeks they may be renewed for 7 weeks more. \$54 is the maximum which may be paid in any one year to one member.

Typographical Union No. 7 of New York City, as reported in the Survey of February 20, 1915, pays to such of its 300 members as may be unemployed, and have been members in good standing for two years, out-of-work benefits for 16 weeks. Members in good standing for 200 weeks or more are not restricted to the 16 weeks limit. Benefits are met out of regular dues and a special assessment of one per cent. of wages, which is paid to the national office.

Typographical Union No. 6, the Photo Engravers' Union and the Brewery Workers' Union of New York City, paid out-of-work benefits during the winter of 1914-1915 of from \$4 for a period of 12 weeks, in the case of the brewery workmen, to \$6 weekly in the case of the Photo Engravers' Union, and from \$5 to \$15 weekly in that of Typographical Union No. 6.†

It is known that weekly allowances to unemployed members were made by many other New York unions. These allowances, though known to amount to very considerable sums in the aggregate, were made not on an insurance basis, but as assistance to members who would otherwise be in distress. Many unions assessed their working members in regular weekly amounts in order to make possible the payments to out-of-work members.‡

* Here considered as relief measure only. On pp. 67, 68 it has been presented in relation to the prevention of unemployment.

† Survey, February 20, 1915.

‡ The American Labor Legislation Review, November, 1915 (footnote), p. 589, gives the following national unions as paying unemployment benefits: Cigar Makers, Diamond Workers, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Glass Bottle Blowers, Machine Printers and Color Mixers, Metal Polishers, Molders, Pattern Makers, Pulp and Sulphite Workers, Shoe Workers and Elastic Goring Weavers. Some of the locals which regularly pay unemployment benefits are Blacksmiths' Helpers Local No. 1 (New York), Brewers Union No. 1 (New York), Boston Wood Carvers' Association and International Typographical Union, Locals Nos. 6 and 7 (New York).

Summary of European Experiments

Mr. I. G. Gibbon in 1911 published a comprehensive study of the European experiments in unemployment insurance.* Mr. Gibbon grouped the various plans under three main heads:

- "*Compulsory* insurance, the insurance being compulsory for certain classes of workers;
- "*Provided* voluntary insurance, the insurance being provided by public authority or somebody other than the insured persons—and being usually open to workers in general;
- "*Autonomous* voluntary insurance, the insurance being organized and administered by the insured themselves, such insurance associations being generally restricted to persons following the same or allied trades."

Compulsory Insurance

The most complete scheme of unemployment insurance is the British National Insurance Act of 1911. Insurance under this Act took effect in July, 1912. It is compulsory for all workmen in seven trades—building, construction of works, ship-building, mechanical engineering, iron founding, construction of vehicles and saw-milling. The employers and the workmen each contribute five cents a week, except that rates are lower for persons under eighteen. The dues are paid through the employer who deducts the workman's share from his wages. An amount equal to one-third of the total contributions of the employers and workmen is contributed by the Government.

The law originally required that in order to be entitled to benefits a workman must have been employed in an insured trade for a period of not less than twenty-six calendar weeks in each of the preceding five years. This was amended in 1914 by substituting payment of ten full contributions.

Benefits are paid in an insured trade to workmen who have made ten full contributions, who have made application for unemployment benefit in the prescribed manner, and who have since the date of the application been continuously unemployed; who are capable of working but unable to obtain suitable employment, and who have not exhausted their rights to unemployment benefits under this part of the Act. A workman is not obliged to accept work on conditions lower than those fixed by contract or custom in his trade and in the locality, nor to accept work in an establishment in which there is a trade dispute. No benefits are paid during strike or lock-out. If a workman has been discharged for mis-conduct, or has voluntarily left his employment without just cause, he cannot enjoy benefit for six weeks.

Reference has been made elsewhere† to provisions looking toward the prevention of unemployment by refunding one-third of the contribu-

* I. G. Gibbon, "Unemployment Insurance," London, P. S. King & Co.

† See p. 68.

tions of employers who keep their men regularly employed, and who have paid 45 weekly contributions during a year, and by refunding contributions paid in respect of workmen working short time in times of depressed trade. Reference has also been made to the provision whereby higher contributions are levied for casual employment, except that the employment of different persons on different days through a labor exchange may count as the steady employment of one person. Workmen who have paid contributions for 500 weeks are entitled to the return of all contributions paid, with compound interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year, when they have reached the age of sixty.

The Board of Trade (the government department exercising supervision) has power to extend the provisions of the Act to trades other than those specified in the original draft and may, after seven years, "revise the rates of contribution . . . and prescribe different rates of contribution for different insured trades, . . . provided . . . no . . . increase (shall be) more than one penny per week."*

A provision of far reaching importance empowers the "insurance officer" to test the skill or knowledge of workmen who are unable to retain employment because of lack of skill, and to provide, out of the unemployment fund, "suitable technical training" for such workmen.†

An "association of workmen" in an insured trade, may make an arrangement with the board of trade, by which the union is repaid three-fourths of the amount of benefits paid its unemployed members, provided the total benefits paid exceed the state benefit by one-third.‡ There is also a provision for repayments, to the amount of one-sixth of benefit, to associations which make payments to unemployed workmen whether in an insured trade or not, provided benefit does not exceed 17s. per week.§ This is to encourage voluntary unemployment insurance in other than insured trades.

Workings of the British National Insurance Act

The benefits fixed at 7 shillings per week are of course not sufficient for full maintenance but are intended to prevent destitution. The British supporters of the Act advocated it as a much more satisfactory and more dignified form of relief than reliance on the Poor Law, charitable institutions or relief works. The practice of placing part of the burden on the employer is defended as equitable since it is because of the fluctuating demands of the employer that the workers are sometimes in reserve rather than being regularly employed at all seasons.

Between two and a quarter millions and two and a half millions of workers in the insured trades are covered. Since the war there has been a falling off (in some trades) due to enlistments.

The following table shows the number of insured workmen in insured trades in July, 1915:

* Section 102, Act of 1911.
† Section 100, Act of 1911.
‡ Section 105, Act of 1911, No. 13, 1914.
§ Section 106, Act of 1911, No. 14, 1914.

NUMBER AND PER CENT. OF WORKERS IN INSURED TRADES:*

	Number	Per Cent. of Total
Building.....	640,947	31.2
Construction of Works.....	150,974	7.5
Engineering and Iron Founding.....	758,093	37.5
Shipbuilding.....	242,963	12.1
Construction of Vehicles.....	174,275	8.2
Sawmilling.....	9,433	0.4
Other Insured Workpeople.....	42,998	2.1
	2,019,683	100.0

* From Board of Trade Labour Gazette, August, 1915.

Benefits are limited to fifteen weeks in one year, and not in greater proportion than one week of benefit to five weeks of contribution, and are not paid for the first week. In the first annual report of operations under the Act, it was shown that in the study of 130,000 spells of unemployment, 63.1 per cent. of unemployment among non-union men was covered and 59.3 per cent. among union men. The spells of unemployment among non-union men are longer than among unionists as shown by the fact that the percentage of non-union men unemployed, but not entitled to benefit because of the one week waiting time, amounted to 27 per cent., while among union men it was 34 per cent.†

During the twelve months from January 15, 1913, to January 17, 1914, payments were made in respect of unemployment benefits to a total of £497,725 and an average payment of 6 shillings. During that period 1,144,213 claims for benefit were made. 822,689, or 72.1 per cent., were made directly to the Board of Trade. 321,524, or 27.9 per cent., were made through trades unions.

In July, 1913, according to the First Annual Report,‡ the fund had expended less than was expected and had accumulated a balance of £1,610,000.

Professor Olga S. Halsey, of Wellesley College, writing of her study of the Act in the American Labor Legislation Review for June, 1915, says she was particularly impressed by the degree of co-operation with the trade unions:

“Up to July, 1914, 105 associations with 539,775 members had entered into these arrangements . . . and of these the president of the board of trade stated that twenty-one unions, with a membership of 86,000, had begun to make provision for unemployment insurance since the passing of the Act. Thus compulsory insurance has stimulated voluntary insurance.”§

“During the first year’s operation 172 unions, with a membership of 376,041, in non-insured trades had made arrangements to gain this subsidy.|| In each case the union must certify that unemployment has not been connected with a trade dispute, and allow the Government to audit the books of the unemployment fund.”

The Board of Trade in the First Annual Report states that the first year’s experience proves, among other things, that compulsory state insurance is administratively practical and that it can be introduced without destroying voluntary insurance. In

† First Annual Report, p. 36.

‡ First Annual Report, pp. 22 and 31.

§ For payment of state benefit through the trades union (section 105, Act of 1911, section 13, Act of 1914). See also page 71.

|| One-sixth of benefit paid, if not in excess of 17s. per week (section 106, Act of 1911, section 14, Act of 1914).

fact, the amount of voluntary unemployment insurance had been enlarged under the operation of compulsory insurance.

Miss Halsey concludes her analysis as follows:

"During the two and a half years of operation, the act has done what it was expected to do; it has been found possible to define the insured trades, to pay benefit to the unemployed workmen within these trades, and to make a saving on the actuarial estimate. The accumulation of a surplus at the close of the first year is due in part to the phenomenally low rate of unemployment during the first year, which colors all the facts revealed by the early experience, and which should constantly be borne in mind in estimating the value of the first year's success. The actuarial basis can not be considered a final success until the act has been tested by a period of trade depression. The board of trade has found it possible to co-operate with the unions and to win the support of the Labour party for the scheme, so that, notwithstanding relatively minor criticism the party is agitating for the extension of the compulsory provisions so that all trades may be included. Furthermore, the existence of compulsory insurance does not seem to have weakened the movement for voluntary insurance, but, on the contrary, to have given it a new impetus, especially within the insured trades. The corner stones upon which the present and future success of the act rests are the existence of an efficient system of labor exchanges, and of a sane trade union movement with which it is possible for a government to co-operate without calling forth just opposition from employers."

While the three years experience of the British Unemployment Insurance Act is not sufficient to warrant any final conclusions, and the breaking out of the war has disturbed ordinary conditions of employment, it is possible to say that this experience warrants the belief that compulsory unemployment insurance administered along the lines of the British Act is practical and possible.

In October, 1914, the Board of Trade announced that emergency grants would be made to trade unions in aid of exceptional expenditures on account of unemployment benefit owing to the war. Because of the improved conditions of employment the Board of Trade later announced that no emergency benefits would be paid on expenditures incurred after the month of May, 1915.*

So exceptional were conditions of employment that for the first seven months of 1915 the average weekly number of claims made for unemployment benefit equalled only 40 per cent. of those made for the corresponding seven months of 1914. The average weekly amount of benefits paid during the first seven months of 1915 equalled only 30 per cent. of the average weekly amount of benefits paid the first seven months of 1915. These data covered all of 1914 prior to the breaking out of the war.

To August 1, 1915, applications for emergency benefit were granted to 185 unions with 284,297 members and to the amount of approximately \$410,000.†

Voluntary Insurance with Public Subsidy

State Systems of Norway and Denmark

Norway and Denmark have state regulated systems of voluntary unemployment insurance since 1906 and 1907. The Norway Act provides for payment by the State to accredited industrial societies (in practice usually trade unions) maintaining unemployment funds, a subsidy amounting to one-third (amended from one-fourth) of the annual amount expended in unemployment benefits. Each fund makes its own

* Board of Trade Labour Gazette, June, 1915.

† Board of Trade Labour Gazette, August, 1915.

payments to the insured, receiving the subsidy due it four times a year. The treasury of the unemployment funds must be kept separate from all other funds of the societies claiming subsidy. At least one-half of the income of the funds must consist of members' dues. The insured must have been a member for six months before becoming eligible to benefits. After three days "waiting time" he is thereupon entitled to benefit, provided he cannot secure suitable work and if not unemployed through fault or labor dispute. The maximum benefit is one-half of wages and the maximum period is ninety days.

The societies administering unemployment funds must admit to the funds unorganized workmen in the industries covered by the funds, but may charge such members from 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. higher rates. This section was bitterly resented by the unions at first and determined efforts were made in 1908 to secure its repeal.* During six years only one non-union man has applied for membership in any fund.

Twenty-seven thousand members, about one-half of the organized workmen, are in these funds (17 workmen's and 2 employers'). Five unions, with 1,681 members, maintain unemployment funds separate from the subsidized funds. In 1912, \$39,091 was paid out in benefits, the government's share being \$9,803.36.

The Denmark system of unemployment insurance is similar to that in vogue in Norway differing from the latter in that up to April 1, 1915, the state paid a subsidy to "recognized unemployment funds" to the amount of one-third the premiums (instead of one-third the benefits) paid by members. This latter method was preferred because it permitted the accumulation of a reserve in good times to be used in times of depression. Local communes were urged to contribute to unemployment funds to the extent, up to April 1, 1915, of one-sixth of the amounts paid by local residents. The funds are required as in Norway, to be kept separate from all other funds of the unions, and to secure one-half of their income from membership dues.

An amendment effective April 1, 1915, increased the amount of the state subsidy and the maximum grant which might be made by local communes to unemployment funds. The state subsidy was increased to one-half and the maximum communal grant to one-third. Requirements for membership in a "recognized unemployment fund" were changed by the amendment so that only persons "without means" can be admitted. This phrase is interpreted to include persons who own property not to exceed approximately \$1,350, if unmarried, and approximately \$2,700 if married.†

The new law provides that an unemployment society may form a special fund, by putting aside a definite proportion of the premiums paid by members, such special fund to be applied in granting benefits beyond the ordinary period, during times of exceptional unemployment.

* Katherine Coman, Survey, March 14, 1914.

† Board of Trade Labour Gazette, April, 1915.

The special benefit is to be paid only to persons belonging to a trade which is declared by the Minister of the Interior to be suffering from exceptional unemployment, and may not exceed, during a year, the equivalent of daily unemployed pay (an amount varying from 13½ cents to 27 cents per diem) for seventy days. Societies which form such special funds will receive a further subsidy from the State equal to half the amount set aside. The total of all State contributions to Unemployment Societies, however, is in no year to exceed the amount of the total subsidy to be granted by the State in respect of the financial year 1913-1914, and the State grant to the special funds, must, if necessary, be proportionately reduced or wholly withheld. Communes may also contribute to the special funds of unemployment societies within their districts amounts equal to one-third of the total contributions of full members.

The insured must have been a contributing member for one year, and wait three days before becoming eligible to benefit. Then, if suitable work cannot be secured, and he is unemployed without fault, and not because of a labor dispute, he is entitled to a maximum of two-thirds of normal wages, for a period of from 50 to 150 days. In no case may the benefit be less than one-half kroner or more than 2 kroners (14 cents to 55 cents).

Up to March 31, 1914, out of a total wage earning population of 500,000, 55 trade unions, practically all of the federated trades, with a membership of 131,113 (about 60 per cent. of those entitled to be insured) had established unemployment funds under the law. This membership included about 73 per cent. of the insurable men and 28 per cent. of the insurable women wage earners. The men not insured are government employees (on the railroads, in post offices, etc.) not subject to hazards of unemployment, and agricultural laborers.* Denmark is distinguished as the one country in which considerable numbers of unskilled laborers are benefited by unemployment insurance. 39,000 of these have been organized into an unskilled laborers' union. The members of this union pay 10 kroner (\$2.75) per year to the unemployed fund and are entitled to from one to one and a half kroner (27 cents to 40 cents) a day for seventy days a year. In 1912 the members of this union reported 470,000 days of unemployment of which 379,000 were compensated. There is also a union of 3,000 unskilled women workers (charwomen, etc.) who pay \$1.40 a year each and are entitled to 27 cents a day for a maximum of fifty days in a year. In 1912 an average of \$1 per member was paid in unemployment benefits.

The amounts of dues and conditions of benefit vary within considerable limits in the Denmark system. The lowest annual dues are \$1.40, paid by the unskilled workmen; the highest \$7, paid by the workers in stucco. In 1912 benefits amounted to \$459,810, of which the workmen

* Katherine Coman, Survey, March 14, 1914.

paid 53.8 per cent., the state 31.9 per cent. and the communes 14.3 per cent.

For the year ending March 31, 1914, benefits were granted for 1,372,945 days of unemployment, an average of about 11 days per member. Members' contributions formed 52 per cent. of the total receipts of the funds, while state subventions amounted to 30 per cent. and municipal subventions to 14 per cent. of the aggregate receipts. The cost of administration equalled 12 per cent. of the total expenditures of over \$600,000.

The good results of the Danish system are attributed to the well organized trade unions, the previous experience of the Danish workmen with sickness insurance, and the excellent spirit of mutual helpfulness and co-operation between the state, the communes, the unions and the public generally.

The Ghent System

The most widely known system of voluntary unemployment insurance is the Ghent* system, dating from the year 1901, and named from the Belgian city of that name.† The methods existing in Norway and Denmark are modifications of the Ghent system but with legal regulation of state-wide scope. The essence of the Ghent system is the paying of a subsidy by the public authorities‡ to the unemployed as an addition to the benefit which they receive from a trade union, benefit association or savings fund. In practice this amounts to the payment of a subsidy to the trade unions paying unemployment benefits, as very few provident societies have been developed under the system. The strength of the Ghent system lies in its simplicity of structure and method. It takes advantage of existing organizations already paying out-of-work benefits or easily capable of administering them. The beneficiaries are consequently well known to each other. Fraud and malingering can be more readily checked than in a more general scheme. This system with modifications has been introduced into most of the cities and provinces of Belgium, into 25 cities in Holland, 20 in France, 10 in Germany, 3 in Italy and 2 in Switzerland. The Belgium national subsidy, the schemes in five or six Swiss cantons, and the French, Norwegian and Danish systems have grown out of the Ghent system.

The system, as a purely voluntary plan, has had its greatest success in the Belgian cities. In France it may be said to have failed to enlist the allegiance of the industrial population, where the 100,000 francs subsidy set aside by the State has never been fully utilized. The weakness of the Ghent system is that it has not reached the largest percentage of

* See I. G. Gibbon, "Unemployment Insurance," P. S. King Co., London, 1911, for best discussion of Ghent system.

† Municipal subvention of trade union insurance against unemployment, commonly supposed to have originated in Ghent, has been practiced since 1896 in Limoges and Dijon, France. See Coman, *Unemployment Insurance*, Progressive National Service, p. 10.

‡ Sixty per cent. is paid in Ghent.

the workmen who are most in need of insurance, nor has it served very largely to increase the membership of trade unions utilizing it.

A modification of the Ghent system, that of Cologne, requires payment from the unions in return for subsidization. In 1914 it re-insured 25 societies with 11,105 members.

The principle of utilizing the machinery of existing industrial organizations like the trade unions is one that has been recognized in all recent legislation as to unemployment insurance. The compulsory act of Great Britain and the voluntary subsidized schemes of Norway and Denmark, the Ghent system in France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Luxemburg and the municipal and communal subsidies to trade unions, saving societies, individual savers and the like, employ existing organizations for the administration of unemployment funds.

An important factor in the administrative workings of unemployment insurance schemes is the co-ordinate development of public employment bureaus. The most successful European schemes are administered through these bureaus which serve at once as a medium through which the unemployed may secure work and as the best means to prevent fraud. A comprehensive plan like that of Great Britain is dependent upon the labor exchanges and is of course greatly helped by the co-operation of the trade unions.

Relief Measures

Summary of Typical Relief Measures

Notwithstanding the fact that the rapid development of organized charity has created recognized standards of relief, wide-spread unemployment presents relief problems which tax the wisdom, ingenuity and financial ability of the best organized communities. The reason is not far to seek. Family support by the earnings of its adult members is a normal condition. Relief made necessary by the ordinary misfortunes of life, exclusive of unemployment, imposes burdens sufficiently onerous for ordinary relief measures. To "rehabilitate" the family in which there is an able-bodied man for whom work cannot be found, is so far a departure from the normal demands on relief agencies as to be a matter of serious difficulty.

The natural steps, if employment is not to be found in the ordinary way, is to attempt to create work, in order, first, to afford a work test, and second, to provide an opportunity for income without lowering the family standards of self-respect and self-reliance. This difficult task has led to expedients which, because they deviate from the normal means of employment, have been the subject of controversy as to the measure of good accomplished. The reply of the experimenters to their critics is usually that it is better, regardless of the economic value of the work performed, to give men work than to support them in idleness.

An increasing use has been made of public employment, usually at the most unskilled kind of labor, in times of exceptional unemployment. From 50 to 60 cities are known to have opened up opportunities for employment out of public funds during the winter of 1914-1915. In some instances private organizations have financially supported public work. Two of the best illustrations of this co-operation were the employment of men in New York City by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in co-operation with public departments, and by the associated charities and public departments in Duluth, Minnesota.

In New York men were employed in clearing land, trenching, grading and road making on the grounds of the Botanical Gardens and the Zoological Museum. The men selected by the Association were hired, supervised and dismissed by the superintendent in charge of the work in the ordinary way. No partiality was shown, the only consideration being their ability and willingness to do the work. The men were paid two dollars per day for an eight hour day, three days per week being allowed for each man. They were paid through the authorities in charge of the work. In the "Survey" for June 12th, 1915, Mr. William H. Matthews sums up the record of the men as follows:

- 231 men were offered work.
- 83, 36 per cent., worked every day allotted.
- 30 refused or failed to report (5 refused, 25 failed.)
- 4 quit after one day's trial ("did not like the work.")
- 30 quit after several days' trial (16 no reason, 14 "going after another job.")
- 12 laid off, physical disability.
- 6 discharged, loafing or intemperance.
- 4 taken on permanent pay roll of Park Department.
- 22 reported had secured work elsewhere.
- 18 placed by A. I. C. P. employment bureau.
- 17 refused other jobs offered and were laid off.

In Duluth, for several winters an arrangement has been made between the Associated Charities and public authorities by which men (usually homeless men, transients, seasonal and casual workers) were employed in cutting through a wall of rock which intercepted the growth of Duluth's main thoroughfare. Wages were fixed at a little below the current rate for unskilled labor and were paid in orders on the Associated Charities for food, lodging, clothing, railroad tickets, etc. The skilled work, blasting and drilling, was done by the regular employees of the City. The preparation of the rock for the crusher was performed by the unemployed men. The City's foremen hired and discharged the men. During the first year, 1911, only 11 out of 300 had to be discharged. During the second year a much larger percentage refused to accept the work. Mr. W. M. Leiserson in reporting in the "Survey" of September 20, 1913, says:

"The weakness of the experiment in Duluth is that it is too intimately connected with a charitable organization. The laborers are not given the money they earn but are paid in orders on the Associated Charities for food, lodging, clothing, railroad tickets, etc. Men who earn their way and who might otherwise never become subjects of relief thus are compelled first to apply to the charitable society for work and then to get their pay through it. Self-respecting men might be humiliated and there is danger of undermining that self respect. Despite this objection the rock pile has more than justified itself."

In Portland, Oregon, the city expended about \$75,000 furnishing work and caring for the unemployed.* The city maintained three camps for cutting cord wood. Payment was made at a piece work rate of ninety and ninety-five cents per cord. The average efficiency of the men was estimated to be about fifty per cent. of experienced wood-cutters. \$4,500 was appropriated to two public departments for the employment of married men, residents of Portland, in the parks and clearing gulches. These men were paid \$3 per day of eight hours. One department gave the men four days work each, the other employed twenty-five men for one month each, and ten men for about a week each. The Commissioner of Public Affairs† estimates the net loss to the city (the expenditures minus the value of the work or product) to be from \$9,825 to \$14,825, depending upon the marketability of wood unsold at the time his report was made (June 30, 1915.)

The most radical proposal yet put forward in any American state for employing the unemployed on public work is embodied in a measure passed by the Idaho legislature during its 1915 session. In that state, the county commissioners are required to furnish emergency employment for a period not exceeding two months each year to any citizen resident in the state for an uninterrupted period of six months and in the county for ninety days, provided such person is unable to find employment and does not possess negotiable real or personal property of a total value of more than \$1,000.‡ The county commissioners fix the compensation to be paid, the applicant on his part agreeing to perform the labor to which he is assigned. Failure to perform work so assigned may result in suspension for the first offense and disqualification for the second offense.

The funds for this emergency employment are to be supplied from the county treasurer's current expense fund, and are to be deducted, 50 per cent. annually, from the sum of the general taxes collectible by the state from the county.

* A little less than \$4,000 of this amount was expended by the Citizens' Employment Committee in conducting a lodging home and wood yard.

† Report on the Problem of the Unemployed During the Winter of 1914-15, by Wm. L. Brewster, Commissioner of Public Affairs, Portland, Oregon.

‡ No report has been made as to the expenditure of any funds for the employment of the unemployed under this act. (On going to press for a second edition of this report, we learn that the Idaho Supreme Court on January 8, 1916, declared the act unconstitutional on technical grounds.)

Experiences of a Few Typical Cities in Unemployed Relief Work

The most significant fact about recent measures for the relief of the unemployed is the general dissatisfaction with large central relief funds.

The following are a few typical experiences of cities which took steps to ameliorate unemployment conditions:

CLEVELAND*

Employers were asked to give work for five hours a day at 17½ cents an hour. 1,310 jobs were offered. The Committee reports that few declined to work.† 400 unemployed were given work in public parks and paid with funds raised by private subscription at the rate of \$2 per day for an eight hour day three days per week.

500 men were put to work by the City authorities through anticipating excavating work that in the ordinary course would have been done in the spring.

5,160 jobs were secured through the City and State Employment Bureaus.

"Share a Day's Earnings" appeal for funds was made on February 4th which raised \$81,000.

Sewing rooms for women were also provided in which women were paid \$1 per day for an eight hour day, three days per week. 80 women were employed for two months.

BOSTON

Workrooms were established for men and women similar to those established in New York. Men were employed cleaning alleys and collecting and assorting paper.

SAN FRANCISCO‡

Through the activities of the Commonwealth Club, a relief program was mapped out. Private funds were raised with great difficulty. Road work at 20 cents per hour was offered. The duration of the employment was in proportion to the size of the applicant's family. The City appropriated \$15,000 to provide lodging and food for migratory workers.

MINNEAPOLIS§

Through the co-operation of the Associated Charities and the Park Board a tract of land along the banks of the Mississippi which was later to be flooded, was cleared of standing timber. 344 men were employed for a total of 2,233 days. 71 men refused work when offered. 881 cords of wood were cut at an average cost of \$6.99 a cord. For the first three weeks only 12 men were at work. The Committee reported that other men followed when they realized that no other work would be provided. The largest number at work on any one day was 87. Work was carried on from December 14th to March 10th. The average pay was 20 cents an hour for an eight hour day for three days' work each week. During the progress of the work, owing to the dissatisfaction with results accomplished, the men were put on a piece work basis. The cost per cord dropped to \$2.63 and the percentage of men refusing work doubled.

Mr. Frank J. Bruno, Secretary of the Associated Charities of Minneapolis, makes the following comment in regard to the effect of relief work upon the men:

"When men know that their families had to be supported whether they got on the job at 8 or 9 in the morning, there was little incentive to prompt reporting for work. Furthermore, it resulted in a discouragingly large proportion of men shirking their tasks except at such times as the overseer's eyes were upon them.

* Survey, August 14, 1915.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Survey, August 28, 1915.

§ Survey, August 14, 1915.

. . . When extra clothing was supplied to the men it was taken unblushingly by some. When called to account for it they seemed to have no conception that they were stealing.* Tools had a mysterious way of disappearing. Axes were cut from their handles and thrown into the river. Steel wedges were buried out of sight and then industriously sought for hours, and so little consideration was shown for the upkeep of the tools that the supply was wasted and had to be too often replenished. . . . We noticed this winter, although the lumber trade was very poor and that not anything like the ordinary number of men were working in the woods, yet very few lumber jacks were among our applicants for relief."

PHILADELPHIA†

\$100,000 was appropriated by the city government, to be expended through the Department of Public Health and Charities by the "Emergency Aid Committee" for the employment of the unemployed. Additional funds were raised by public subscription on "Self-Sacrifice Day" and through individual contributions.

2,046 men were given temporary work seven hours a day at \$1.20 per day from February 23 to June 6, 1915. They were employed in grading, seeding and sodding park grounds, clearing trees of the tussock moth, planting and pruning shrubs and trees, making park benches and rustic bridges, laying pipe, draining and clearing play grounds and vacant lots, painting and repairing roofs, furniture and woodwork in public hospitals, and in repairing and renovating two hundred houses (which would not have been repaired and renovated at that time), for the Octavia Hill Association.

Experience of Great Britain

British Unemployed Workmen Act

The most comprehensive plans of relief employment are those in vogue in Great Britain.

The Unemployed Workmen Act was passed in 1905. It established Distress Committees for each municipal and urban district of 10,000 or more. The Act resulted in 127 of these committees being established, 98 in the United Kingdom outside of London and 29 in London itself. In London the Act was administered by the Central Unemployed Body which supervised the operations of the 20 Distress Committees with power to operate on its own account.

The chief provisions of the Unemployed Workmen Act are that assistance may be rendered to the unemployed, either in the form of assisting them to secure work through the labor exchanges, or by providing or contributing toward the provision of temporary work "in such manner as they think best calculated to put the unemployed in a position to obtain regular work or other means of support." The Act further provides that the administrators of the Act may establish farm colonies and provide accommodations for the unemployed, or may aid in the emigration or removal to another area of an unemployed person and his dependents.

By the operation of the Labor Exchanges Act of 1908 the labor exchanges formerly managed under the Unemployed Workmen Act were

* This stricture seems on the face of it questionable.

† Special Report, Emergency Aid Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.

taken over by the Board of Trade. From eighteen to twenty-five of these had been established in London up to 1908 by the Central Unemployed Body.

The Distress Committees are required "to acquaint themselves with the conditions of labor in their area and to receive, investigate and discriminate between applications made to them from persons unemployed." The object of the Act was to give employment to men who were temporarily out of work and to save them from appealing to the poor law officials for relief. "Preference is to be given to applicants who have in the past been regularly employed, who have been well conducted and thrifty, who have at the time of application a wife, child, or other dependent, and who, in respect of their age and physical condition, are qualified for such work as the Distress Committee may be able to obtain."

Work provided must be of "actual and substantial utility and must afford continuous occupation for the person employed." The total remuneration in the beginning was restricted to an amount "less than that which would under ordinary circumstances be earned by an unskilled laborer for continuous work during the same period." In practice the rate of pay soon became that of the ordinary rate of pay of the district. Where it was desired to limit the amount to be earned this was accomplished by restrictions on the length of time employed. Sixteen weeks was fixed as the maximum for which any person could be employed during one year. It was contemplated in the beginning that funds would come from the Imperial Exchequer, from local authorities and from voluntary contributions. After 1905 the amount received from private sources was negligible.

The workings of the Act have been reviewed and subjected to critical analysis (up to 1909) by the New York State Commission on Unemployment, the British Poor Law Commission, and by W. H. Beveridge.*

The New York State Commission sums up the results of its study as follows:

"The officials who are carrying on the work under the Unemployed Workman Act are quite frank in confessing the failure of the law in all things they set out to do, except the Labor Exchanges.† . . . Temporary relief works, we are told are useless as a permanent remedy for unemployment. The same men return year after year to the Distress Committees for employment. The work they do is never satisfactory. What is needed is work under the ordinary conditions of employment, and the Central (Unemployed) Body are unable to offer either the proper sort of work or the proper amount of it.

"Relief works fail to attract the best type of the unemployed. The deserving strong, useful workman, temporarily out of work, for whom the Act was undoubtedly passed, are not reached. For the most part the operations reach only those deficient in physique or capacity to work. Colony work (the most hopeful type provided) the Central Body reports can not be made of real permanent benefit unless special

* "Unemployment and Farm Labor," Appendix II, N. Y. State Commission on Employer's Liability, etc., pp. 70-82; Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909. Majority Report, Vol. I, pp. 481-504, **Minority Report**, pp. 529-567; W. H. Beveridge, "Unemployment—a Problem of Industry," pp. 154-191.

† Taken over by Board of Trade under Labor Exchanges Act, 1909.

colonies are provided for different classes of men, and an outlet for those who are trained."

Beveridge sums up his analysis of the Act as follows:

"Its authors had clearly before them the fact of cyclical fluctuations as shown by the the trade union returns—the unemployed percentage rising from its minimum of 2 or 3 to 7 or more and returning to the minimum again. They aimed at providing a temporary refuge for the 5 per cent. or so of men thus exceptionally displaced; They viewed trade depression, in fact, as a chasm through which men might slip to the abyss of chronic pauperism below and they wish to construct across it a bridge of temporary relief."

"In fact they have not been able to carry out any part of this policy. The construction of the bridge has not been limited to times of exceptional depression nor its use to men exceptionally unemployed; it has not been made less attractive than ordinary labor, and it has not been made long enough to land men on the firm ground of regular work once more. . . . Its authors correctly appreciated the fact of cyclical fluctuations in the demand for labor. They took *no account of the irregularity of unemployment which in good times and bad times alike is a normal feature throughout so large a part of industry.** Yet this is the one fact which by itself makes the whole policy of the Act unworkable. The characteristic and conspicuous result of trade depression is, not to reduce to destitution men formerly in regular employment (though no doubt this also happens to some extent), *but to precipitate into distress men who are always on its verge.**

The British Poor Law Commission made a comprehensive study, not alone of the workings of the Unemployed Workmen Act, and relief works under it, but of the various relief works which had been conducted by private philanthropy and public authority. Both the majority and minority reports condemned relief works as a means of checking unemployment. The minority, however, protested against the repeal of the Unemployed Workmen Act and the discontinuance of the relief works under it unless and until some more acceptable substitute for the hated "Poor Law" was provided.

The following extracts from the Minority Report serve to define the objections to relief works on the part of the drafters of the report (and the majority as well):

"But even in the most suitable of occupations, the atmosphere of Municipal Works, *whenever men are taken on because they are unemployed*, and are not picked out and engaged at wages in the ordinary way because they are the best available men to execute a task that is required for its own sake, was invariably found to be enervating and demoralizing. It is not in human nature to put forth one's full strength in work which is different from that to which one has been accustomed, and which is known to have been artificially created more as a means of occupying the men than for its urgency; in an employment, moreover, from which dismissal is practically impossible.†

"All these objections to the relief of the Unemployed by means of Municipal Employment—cumulative in their force—still leave unstated what seems to us the most fundamental of all. In the following chapter on 'The Distress from

* Not italicized in original.

† "The men generally will not put their best into the work," deposed one witness. "This is largely due to the knowledge that having been engaged, not because their services were required, but because they were out of work, they are not likely, therefore, to be discharged." (Evidence before the Commission, Appendix No. LII to Vol. VIII, Par. 17 (b).)

Unemployment as it Exists Today' we shall show that the problem before the country is only in exceptional circumstances and only to a small extent that of providing for the man who has temporarily fallen out of continuous employment at weekly wages, and who has to be tided over the interval between one such regular situation and the next one. Such a man would present, as we shall see, comparatively little difficulty if he stood by himself. What is more formidable is the fact that large sections of the population in most of the big cities are in a *chronic state of under-employment, in which they get only a few days' work per week, and in bad times only a few days' work per month.*

"Looking back on the whole twenty years' experience of the provision of Municipal Employment, it is fundamentally to this existence of large sections of the working-class population at all times in a state of chronic under-employment that must be attributed the failure of Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion of using Local Authorities to tide over periods of exceptional distress. If Able-bodied Destitution were limited to men, whether skilled or unskilled, who had lost definite situations, and might reasonably be expected to get into definite situations again when the emergency had passed away—whether their loss of employment was due to some such catastrophe as the bankruptcy of an employer or a fire, or to some dislocation through war or a commercial crisis—Municipal works would be a feasible way of getting over the difficulty.

*"If adequate provision were made in some other way for the casual labourers in chronic Under-employment, it is conceivable that the Municipal Authorities might successfully find work for the limited number of men whom some industrial dislocation had temporarily deprived of regular situations, and who needed only to be tided over until they got into regular situations again. Even then, the question arises whether, if financial considerations alone were regarded, it would not be found to be cheaper to give the men their wages without allowing them to spoil the material, wastefully use the plant and necessitate the engagement of foremen and overlookers, for the execution of real work, possibly not undesirable in itself, but of no real commercial value. In short, we are obliged to conclude, with the committee of the Norwich Town Council, that 'the work on the whole has been unsatisfactory, and the payments in some cases are scarcely worth calling payments for work, but merely a mask for charity.'"**

The Minority Report concludes (in part) as to relief works for the unemployed:

" . . . It (The Unemployed Workmen Act) has demonstrated that, as a method for providing for chronic Unemployment or Under-employment, the provision of work at wages by Local Authorities affords no remedy and tends even to intensify the evil.

"That work at wages, given to the Unemployed by Local Authorities for a few days or a few weeks at a time, tends, like the opening of a Labour Yard by the Board of Guardians (Relief Authorities), actually to promote the disastrous Under-employment characteristic of some industries, and positively encourages employers and employed to acquiesce in intermittent employment and casual jobs, instead of regular work at definite weekly wages.

"That one of the most promising of these experiments—the provision of Rural Colonies where the Unemployed could be *trained with a view to their permanent re-establishment as self-supporting citizens*,† whether on the land or otherwise, in England or elsewhere—has been tried at the Hollesley Bay Farm Colony, with a considerable measure of success. Unfortunately, as it seems to us, the Local Government Board for England and Wales now insists on regarding this

* Minority Report—Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909, pp. 540-544, *inc.*

† Not italicized in original.

Farm Colony only as a means of affording temporary *relief* and not as a means of training men for future self-support; and refuses to permit any further expenditure for the purpose of permanently establishing even those men who have been selected and trained."

The Minority report in its recommendations for the solution of the problem presented by its analysis of the causes of unemployment, emphasizes the necessity for training the unskilled among the unemployed. It proposes that, instead of employing men on relief works, the State provide suitable physical and industrial training in colonies and local training establishments for casual and unskilled laborers applying to distress committees. In consideration of regular attendance and submission to the necessary discipline and training, the families of the men were to be given an adequate allowance for maintenance without recourse to the "Poor Law."*

Relief Works Under the Unemployed Workmen Act

Relief works under the British Unemployed Workmen Act continue in effect. For the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1913, a year of good employment, 72 of the 127 Distress Committees working under the Act were active. Twenty-nine of these were in London and 43 in the provinces. 43,381 applications (16,146 in London and 27,235 in the provinces) were made for employment under the Act. 30,662 (7,823 in London and 22,839 in the provinces) were accepted and qualified. These, together with their dependents, amounted to 10 per 1,000 of population. For the fiscal years 1911-1912 the proportion accepted and qualified under the Act was 12 per 1,000 population and in 1910-1911, 15 per 1,000.

The ages of those accepted and qualified show that old age had little to do with the necessity for applications to Distress Committees. Over 58 per cent. of the London applicants were under 40 years and more than 85 per cent. were under 50 years of age. The proportions for London and the provinces together were 51.6 per cent. and 77.6 per cent., respectively, for the two age periods mentioned. About three-quarters of the applicants were general or casual laborers, workmen in transportation and the building trades. The following show that approximately one-half of the applicants reapplied to the Committees:

1912 to 1913.....	44%
1911 to 1912.....	47%
1910 to 1911.....	54%

The average payment for work was 6d. an hour during employment, which lasted from a few days to nine weeks.

The West Ham Farm Colony of 204 acres employed and housed 263 persons for an average of 15¼ days work per person. The average

* This plan was put into practice in England for young girls displaced because of the war. Report of Central Committee on Women's Employment, Cd. 7848. See also, "Training Classes for Unemployed Girls," p. 30.

allowance to families was 14s. per week. The expenditures of this Colony was £7,118. The proceeds of the work aggregated £3,323.*

The Hollesley Bay Colony maintained by the Central Unemployed Body of London employed 1,168 men for an average of nine weeks each. The daily average number employed in January was 222. Wages including allowance to families amounted to an equivalent of 25s. weekly. Expenditures aggregated £27,561, the proceeds being £10,643.*

Men in the colonies are given board and lodging and 6d. per week for themselves. Their families are provided with an allowance not to exceed 17s. 6d., varying with the number of children under 14. 3,544 individuals were assisted to migrate during the year, the majority migrating to Australia and Canada.

Central Unemployed Body for London

The work of the Central Unemployed Body for London which administers the Unemployed Workmen Act for that City has previously been referred to in the criticisms made by the New York Commission on Unemployment, by W. H. Beveridge, and by the British Poor Law Commission. The eighth report of the Central Body for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1914, gives a lucid account of the work of the year with comparisons of previous years. The report shows that a remarkably prosperous condition of industry existed throughout the greater part of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.

The following table shows the percentage of recurring applications. It will be seen that in London, as well as in the country as a whole, and for a longer period, nearly one-half of the applicants had applied in previous years:

YEAR	Total	Previously Registered Proportion Per Cent.
1913-1914.....	11,220	49.7
1912-1913.....	15,773	48.3
1911-1912.....	20,907	47.8
1910-1911.....	26,540	51.3
1909-1910.....	42,441	48.5
1908-1909.....	49,485	not available
Averages:		
1905-1914.....	29,314	....
1905-1913.....	31,576	....

Nearly 80 per cent. of the male applicants for 1913-1914 were from the building trades, locomotion and transport. The latter would include all teamsters, hackmen, dock workers, etc. More than one-third of the women applicants had previously followed the occupation of charwomen.

* For fiscal year ending March 31, 1913.

The number and percentage of the total number of applicants provided with work, emigrated, migrated and in any way assisted, is shown in the following table:

YEAR	Total No. Applicants Registered	Percentage Provided With Work	Emigrated Percentage	Migrated Percentage	Total Percentage Cases Assisted
1913-1914.....	11,220	27.1	1.4	0.09	28.6
1912-1913.....	15,773	23.0	3.3	0.07	26.4
Averages:					
1905-1914.....	29,314	18.4	2.3	0.08	20.8
1905-1913.....	31,576	18.0	2.3	0.08	20.4

Work Provided

The work provided was similar to that of former years. There were employed in the London works 1,627 men for periods ranging from 6 to 9 weeks. 1,138 of these were employed in parks and open spaces. Altogether work was provided at twenty centers and consisted mainly of levelling and grading grounds.

Women were employed throughout the year, except in June, in three workrooms making articles of underclothing, shirts and various tailor-made and machine-knitted garments. These articles were disposed of by free distribution through the Children's Care Committees connected with the schools of the London County Council, in outfitting persons whose cases were approved for emigration, inmates of the Hollesley Bay Colony, and by sales to various public or philanthropic authorities.

Hollesley Bay Colony

At Hollesley Bay Colony 1,262 men were provided with work for an average period of a little less than nine weeks. The experiment of placing the paid labor on piece work, which had been inaugurated a year or two previously was continued and reported successful. The Colony flock of lambs when offered for sale brought the highest prices. At the end of the year 36 families were settled at the Colony. The cost per man per week averaged only one pound, two shillings for a family of five.

The Hollesley Bay Colony has been the subject of more controversy than any other phase of the activity of the Central Unemployed Body under the Unemployed Workmen Act. It has had many defenders who were either wholly or partly of sympathy with relief work in general.

The Colony was taken over in February, 1905. It consists of 1,300 acres, and has living and sleeping accommodations for 350 men in buildings formerly used for an agricultural college.

The report for the year 1906-1907 gives three main purposes for the Colony's work:

- 1 Special work for periods of exceptional distress.
- 2 Continuous work for men who are not only in exceptional need of work, but who either have already lived on the land or show a marked aptitude for country life.
- 3 Establishment of suitable men and families in agricultural or other rural industry.

Those most interested in the Colony plan desire to promote the last purpose more particularly than the first two cited. The establishment of men in agriculture would include securing positions as ordinary farm laborers, securing work in market gardening or general gardening; the establishment of men on small holdings, and, finally, the emigration of men who had been trained in agricultural work at the Colony.

The possibility of training men for agriculture and diverting them from the cities to industries on the land was seriously hampered if not made entirely impractical by the decision of the London County Council (appropriating body) that the placing of selected men on small holdings of the Central Body was beyond the power of the Central Body under the law.* In the early history of the Colony, after this blow to its expectations had been given, efforts were made through advertising to place men in suitable situations, but without success, owing chiefly to the encumbrance of the large families most of the men had. The report for the year 1910-1911 refers to the inability of the Colony to place trained men in small holdings.

In the report for the year 1911-1912 the Central Body refers to the analysis of expenditures in the Hollesley Bay Colony by saying that "in the working of such a farm under commercial conditions, part of the work now done by the unemployed labor would be carried out by machinery. Moreover, the workmen employed are not accustomed to the class of work performed."

For the year 1913-1914 the farm and garden account showed a profit for the first time of £1,530. The balance sheet for this year showed the value of the estate as a labor colony to be £47,573, an increase of £3,323 during the year. The net cost of working the Colony since December 12, 1905 (eight and a half years) was stated to be £142,289.

In recent annual reports for the years 1910-1914 inclusive, the valuation put upon the work in the Hollesley Bay Colony runs from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. of that performed by ordinary labor. The valuations put upon non-colony works range from 60 per cent. to 95 per cent.

General Observations of Distress Committees on the Unemployed Workmen Act

Each annual report of the Central Unemployed Body summarizes the observations of the twenty-nine Distress Committees reporting to it. For the last four or five years the observations are similar and may fairly be represented by references from the report for the year ending June 30, 1914. Certain Committees report regarding the working of the Act in relation to the men with whom they are dealing:

"The Act does little to meet the exceptional conditions in that area although many families have been helped over a time of severe distress."

Another wishes to—

"* * again emphasize their opinion that the good done by the Act is totally incommensurate with the machinery and expense entailed in carrying it out."

At St. Pancras the Distress Committee finds that—

"It still remains true that the main effect of the Act has been to manufacture a special class of men who year by year wait for the opening of the register in order to enable them to tide over the winter."

* There is little doubt that the refusal to provide an outlet for men who had been diverted from city life by facilitating their location on the land, seriously crippled the Colony and in large part nullified the plans of its promoters.

One Committee repeats its remarks of the previous year as to the ineffectiveness of relief work and as to the

"Increase of the number of families where the man is no longer the chief breadwinner,"

and again—

"Urge the imperative need of sufficient classification of the chronic applicants."

Two of the twenty-nine Committees believe that the Act works well and should be continued until some more permanent measure is provided to take its place.

Experience of Continental Europe

British experience in dealing with relief employment has been reviewed at considerable length because of its significance and because of its having been subjected to careful study and analysis.

A summary review of the methods in vogue in other European countries follows:

*GERMANY**

Relief works for the unemployed in Germany date from the winter of 1895-1896, when thirty-six towns provided some form of relief work employment. During the winter of 1911-1912, 79 towns included relief work among the measures adopted for the relief of the unemployed.

The most complete system of relief work for the unemployed is that of Düsseldorf. Each summer the authorities prepare a program of relief works for the winter. Until 1908-1909 these relief works were undertaken partly by the administrative departments of the municipality, and partly by contractors for road works who were required to hire a certain number of the unemployed. Applicants for such employment must have resided in the city for one year, and since 1912 must have been unemployed for a period of fourteen days. They are required to report three times in eight days to the labor exchange. Since 1910-1911 work has been restricted to married men and to single men with dependents. Road work, earth work and labor in the supply and distribution of sand, have been the main occupations offered, though there have been some attempts to provide skilled employment. As unemployment became acute, stone breaking was resorted to, but was made as easy as possible. The hours of employment were the same as those for regular municipal laborers. The wages were 3 marks, 25 pfennig (about 75c.) per day, 25p. less than the current rate for unskilled labor. 91,045 work-days were supplied in 1908-1909; 9,681 work-days were supplied in 1909-1910. The net cost, over and above the value of the work, to Düsseldorf, is estimated to have been 2 m. (46c.) per day per person employed. In the year 1908-1909 the loss is estimated to have amounted to 200,000 marks (\$46,000) out of a total expenditure of 498,522 marks (\$113,660) or about 40 per cent.

Since 1912 the German Association for Home Colonies for Social Purposes† has managed a cultivation center in Reppen (near Frankfort a. O.), which is reported to have shown satisfaction. Germany also provides an excellent system of lodging houses and since 1908 there have been about 35 labor colonies, the first of which was established at Wurttemberg.

* Abstract from the Official Delegate's Report to the International Conference on Unemployment, 1912.

† In these colonies attempts are made to reclaim waste land and do similar work.

*FRANCE**

In 1910, 533 communes provided work for the unemployed for an average of from one to twenty days. The usual kind of work was road work and work for agricultural laborers. The average daily wage from 1½ to 2½ francs (30c. to 50c.). The total amount expended was 1,040,000 francs (\$208,012). Twenty-two towns spent at least 10,000 francs (\$2,000) each.

In Paris in 1910, in connection with municipal lodging houses, work was provided such as wood chopping, brick laying, printing, lock-smithing and preparing clothes and bedding used in municipal departments. 29,462 francs (\$5,892) were paid in wages in addition to food and lodgings. 2,011 persons were assisted in this way. A subvention was given to provide relief work for women who were employed in making, repairing and washing clothes and linen used in municipal departments. From 140 to 150 women were employed. In 1912 expenditures on this account amounted to 10,000 francs (\$2,000).

*ITALY**

Italy provides public work for the relief of seasonal agricultural labor in the valley of the Po. The work undertaken is extensive improvement of the soil. Much of this work has been given to Labor Co-operative Societies founded by agricultural laborers as well as to contractors.

*AUSTRIA**

One Austrian City, Brün, provides organized relief employment in construction work. Good results are reported.

*NORWAY**

Norway has provided no relief work since 1905. For three years previously the State had provided work for the unemployed in the construction of railways and docks. The city of Christiania in 1908 provided special opportunities for unskilled labor as well as stone breaking. The Department of Port, Bridges and Roads has been organized to employ as many people in winter as in summer.

In Bergen public relief works such as clearing land, road-making, sack making, etc., have been organized. Certain municipal works are reserved as a matter of course for the winter season.

In Stavanger, each winter from November to March, the unemployed are put to work clearing and cultivating land belonging to the town. As many as 120 persons at a time have been assisted with this work. Complaints have been made about the high cost of relief works.

THE NETHERLANDS

The unemployed are put to work breaking flax and clearing uncultivated lands. The Dutch Society for Clearing Moors spends 1,000,000 francs (\$200,000) per annum, but some of this work is done regardless of employment conditions.

SWITZERLAND

Certain towns provide road works, snow cleaning, laying water and gas pipes, especially for the unemployed. In others, private charity has organized wood cutting, rag sorting, gravel sifting, and certain agricultural labor.

* Abstract from the Official Delegate's Report to the International Conference on Unemployment, 1912.

**MAYOR'S COMMITTEE
ON
UNEMPLOYMENT**

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

GENERAL CHAIRMAN
GENERAL SECRETARY
CHAIRMAN OF SUB-COMMITTEES

DIRECTOR

SEASONALITY & IRREGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

- a-Seasonal Industries
- b-Irregularity of Employment
- c-Employment Policies in Representative Industries

INVESTIGATIONS

- a-Securing Facts
- b-Supervising Investigations

RELIEF AND EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT

- a-Cooperation and Coordination of Relief
- b-Emergency Employment
- c-Loan Fund and Credit Union
- d-Homeless Men and Vagrancy

PUBLIC POLICY

- a-Developing Public Employment Bureaus
- b-Organizing Schemes for Decasualizing Casual Labor
- c-Federating Non-commercial Employment Agencies
- d-Planning Public Expenditures to Compensate for Decreased Private Employment during Trade Crises
- e Unemployment Insurance

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING & VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

- a-Industrial Training
- b-Study of Private Commercial Schools and their Effect on Unemployment
- c-Vocational Help to Minors
- d-Training the Unemployed

PART III

CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR AN IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

Need of Permanent Committee for Study and Action

Irregularity of employment, and unemployment, being persistent factors affecting adversely the social welfare, should receive constant attention and study through the associated effort and co-operation of the city, the business and industrial community, and those interested in the general welfare.

Reorganization of Mayor's Committee

It is recommended that the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment be reorganized with an active membership of about twenty, on which the influential business, commercial, labor and civic organizations most concerned with industrial problems and with unemployment should be represented.*

This suggestion need not exclude from membership on the committee representative individuals whose interest in the subject and whose influence and standing in the community make them effective members.

Plan of Organization

In the light of the last year's experience and the study of the problem presented by unemployment in New York City, the following plan of organization and subjects to be taken up for careful consideration and recommendation is suggested.

Central Committee

Consisting of about twenty members

Executive Committee

Consisting of General Chairman, General Secretary, and Chairman of Sub-committees.

Sub-committees dealing with definite phases of the problem.

- 1 *Investigations*
 - a Securing Facts
 - b Supervising Investigations
- 2 *Seasonality and Irregularity of Employment*
 - a Seasonal Industries
 - b Irregularity of Employment
 - c Employment Policies in Representative Industries
- 3 *Public Policy*
 - a Developing Public Employment Bureaus
 - b Organizing Schemes for Decasualizing Casual Labor
 - c Federating Non-Commercial Employment Agencies
 - d Planning Public Expenditures to Compensate for Decreased Private Employment During Trade Crises
 - e Unemployment Insurance

* A new Committee was appointed January 25, 1916, see p. 109.

- 4 *Industrial Training and Vocational Guidance*
 - a Industrial Training
 - b Study of Private Commercial Schools and Their Effect on Unemployment
 - c Vocational Help to Minors
 - d Training the Unemployed
- 5 *Relief and Emergency Employment*
 - a Co-operation and Co-ordination of Relief
 - b Emergency Employment
 - c Loan Fund and Credit Union
 - d Homeless Men and Vagrancy

The following is an outline of the more immediate problems which can be taken up by the committees suggested above:

Investigations

Securing Facts

Some progress has been made in collecting information regarding unemployment, irregularity of employment and fluctuations in employment. The subject needs constant attention.

On the initiative of the Committee the most complete census of unemployment undertaken anywhere in the country was taken in January-February, 1915, and again in August-September, 1915, by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and co-operatively by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Mayor's Committee.*

The State Industrial Commission is now collecting data on a schedule worked out in conference with the committee on investigations, which shows fluctuations in employment in nearly 1,300 representative manufacturing establishments (total number of employees, total amount of wages paid).† Special studies and investigations of irregularity of employment, seasonal employment and casual labor should be made and a fact center on employment data maintained.

Supervising Investigations

Supervise special investigations, required by other committees (if desired) and initiate studies and inquiries related to unemployment made by public, educational, civic and other investigating bodies.

Seasonality and Irregularity of Employment

Seasonality and Irregularity of Employment

These subjects should receive special attention as among the most important aspects of the problem of unemployment as it affects industry. This sub-committee should be representative of influential interests in industry, particularly in "seasonal industries." It should study, with constructive ends in view, the problem of seasonality and irregularity of employment in the more important industries of the city.

Employment Policies in Representative Industries

Special effort should be made to co-operate with the new Society for the Study of Employment Problems (employment managers' association), bringing to the attention of the employers of New York the desirability of studying their own employment problems, of cutting down the labor "turn over" and of developing regularity and continuity in the labor force.

* See pp. 11 and 22.

† See p. 26.

Public Policy

Developing Public Employment Bureaus

Special consideration should be given to assisting in developing the public employment bureaus, encouraging and assisting them in securing co-operation from the employing public, and in obtaining adequate financial support.

Elsewhere* is a discussion of the functions of public employment bureaus, experience with them in other countries, and recommendations growing out of a special conference held in June, 1915, to consider their proper development.

Organizing Schemes for "Decasualizing" Casual Labor

Some attention has already been given by the Director of the Mayor's Committee to the collection of information with regard to employment conditions along the docks. Section 1, Part II, of this report contains a detailed discussion of the schemes in practice in England for organizing dock labor. Preliminary inquiries have been made of representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and of employing interests, in part, from which we believe that an organized employment scheme for dock laborers in New York is possible of achievement. Steps in this direction should be undertaken. This proposal suggests efforts which can be made in other industries employing casual labor.

Federating Non-Commercial Employment Agencies

A Federation of Non-Commercial Employment Agencies has been organized through the instrumentality of the Mayor's Committee. A study has been made of the private non-commercial employment bureaus as the basis of the co-ordination and correlation of the placement work now being done by all these agencies. Conferences are being held between bureaus serving similar classes of applicants, to promote the best methods of co-operation. The constant attention of the Director of the Mayor's Committee, who has served as chairman of the federation, is needed until methods of co-ordinating the work of the bureaus with one another and with the public bureaus, are worked out.

Planning Public Expenditures to Compensate for Decreased Private Employment During Trade Crises

Serious efforts should be made to promote a method of planning public improvements and expenditures over a period of from seven to ten years, so that a certain percentage each year would be postponed to be undertaken in years of extraordinary unemployment.† At the conference of Mayors of New York State held in June, 1915, the General Secretary of the Mayor's Committee introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee of five mayors, to report a practical program for carrying out this suggestion. The Mayor's Committee is taking an active part in the work of an advisory conference which has recommended a program to the Committee of Mayors.

Unemployment Insurance

The basis upon which unemployment insurance can be undertaken in New York City and New York State, as well as the nation at large, should receive careful consideration.

The subject should be brought forcibly to the attention of the leaders of opinion in industry, politics and government. Information should be gathered as to the

* See pp. 45 and 96.

† See p. 52 for discussion of this proposal.

operation of out-of-work benefits among trade unions in this country. Knowledge of unemployment insurance plans of other countries should be brought to the attention of the citizens of New York.*

Industrial Training and Vocational Guidance

Industrial Training

Industrial training, while not to be considered solely from the point of view of unemployment, bears a definite and important relation to irregularity of, and unemployment.

At the suggestion of representatives of organized labor that an "industrial survey" precede the adoption of a general scheme of industrial education, the board of education has requested the board of estimate and apportionment to appropriate \$15,000 for a survey of the leading industries of the city.† This survey, it is urged, will enable the board of education, in planning the course of study in industrial subjects, to take fully into account existing employment opportunities.

Study of Private Commercial Schools and Their Effect on Unemployment

Various committees and organizations dealing with unemployed girls have found that a very large number of applicants for employment and relief had presumably finished courses in various private commercial schools for the training of stenographers, office and business workers. In some cases this training is known to be decidedly superficial and to have been undertaken by the pupils because of an express or implied promise that the student would, upon completion of the prescribed course, be able to secure remunerative employment. Some schools have paid solicitors among the girls. A study of these schools and the effect upon unemployment of turning out a horde of illy-equipped commercial workers, is much needed.

Vocational Help to Minors

The opening up of constructive employment opportunities for minors through vocational guidance is an extremely important aspect of the problem of preventing unemployment. A special sub-committee of the Mayor's Committee has already devoted much time, thought and effort to this subject. This work should be continued and extended.

Training the Unemployed

Elsewhere,‡ is the report, with constructive proposals of the special committee appointed to sum up the results of a conference held on the subject of training the unemployed.

The Julia Richman High School and the Manhattan Trade School are co-operating with the Mayor's Committee in maintaining commercial and trade extension classes for utilizing the idle time of unemployed girls to train them in their chosen vocations. These extension classes are being carried on in a building owned by the city at 49 Lafayette Street, in which is located the public employment bureau. The classes are connected up with the public and non-commercial employment bureaus, so that by referring applicants for practical tests as to working efficiency, they may serve the bureaus as experiment stations in vocational guidance. Until they can be incorporated into the school system, these classes need attention and some financial support.§

* See pp. 68, 69 and 76.

† This survey has been authorized.

‡ See p. 99.

§ See "Training Classes for Unemployed Girls," p. 30.

Relief and Emergency Employment

Co-operation and Co-ordination of Relief

While the emphasis in a constructive program for the prevention and mitigation of unemployment should be on industrial organization and public policy, it is advisable for the time being to anticipate the relief needs of an unemployment crisis such as last year's, should it recur, and to prepare to meet it effectively from the relief point of view.

At the beginning of last winter city-wide leadership in unemployment was lacking. A permanent association or federation of relief and appropriate public welfare agencies should be organized to function promptly in unemployment crises. The general program of such an emergency body and the part assigned to each co-operating organization in such a program, should be worked out, as far as practicable, in advance. The example of the National Red Cross, with existing relief societies as auxiliaries and working units, illustrates the advantage of preparedness when emergencies arise. Organizations other than the large relief societies should be brought into this plan, as complete success will depend upon a unified city-wide program supported by all agencies capable of participation.

Emergency Employment

A satisfactory plan of emergency employment would be one of the problems to be worked out by the proposed federation of relief and welfare agencies.*

Loan Fund and Credit Union Plan

An attempt should be made to promote a central loan or credit union plan which would be self-sustaining and self-perpetuating. During the emergency of last winter it was impossible to secure sufficient support to inaugurate a credit union plan. This year renewed effort should be made.

Program for Homeless Men and Vagrants

The knitting together of various voluntary religious and philanthropic organizations and the Municipal Lodging House in dealing with homeless men, and the further development of plans already under way for industrial work in the Municipal Lodging House may need the co-operation of this Committee.

Special effort needs to be made to secure an appropriation from the legislature for a State Farm Colony for Vagrants for which the State already owns a site at Beekman, Dutchess County. The Mayor's Committee participated in attempts to secure an appropriation during the 1915 legislative session, addressed the Governor on the subject, conferred with legislative leaders, and met with other organizations interested, but the effort failed.

* See p. 27 for summary account of work of "emergency workshops" supported last winter by the Mayor's Committee.

PART IV

APPENDICES

Appendix I

RECOMMENDATIONS OF CONFERENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

The following committee was appointed to sum up the results of a conference on the development of public employment bureaus called by the Mayor's Committee, June 10, 1915.

Mr. John B. Andrews	
Mr. Frederick L. Cranford	
Mr. Hugh Frayne	
Mr. Jonathan C. Day	
Miss Maude Wetmore	
Mr. Walter L. Sears	} ex officio
Mr. Charles B. Barnes	

Excerpts of the Committee's recommendations are here given.

Function of Public Employment Bureaus

The Conference believes in the fullest possible development of the public employment bureaus. It is realized that these bureaus are not a remedy for unemployment. They cannot create jobs. Their function is to organize the labor market, to conserve the time and energy of applicants for work and employers seeking workers, to make the closest possible connection between the job and the worker and to make known to both employers and employees the needs of employers for workers on the one hand and the desires of employees to secure such work on the other hand.

Public Employment Bureaus as "Regularizers" of Employment

Public bureaus can perform a most useful and necessary function in centralizing and pooling the demands of all employers, particularly in casual and seasonal occupations, thereby stabilizing employment and concentrating regular employment for the largest number of weeks throughout the year on individual workmen, so that they may become regular employees in the industry though not always regularly employed by a single employer. The bureaus when performing their function as the central organized labor market of a community will prevent much unemployment by making prompt connections between the job and the worker.

Obstacles to Be Overcome

Public employment bureaus in their attempt to organize the labor market must compete in New York City with from 500 to 600 commercial employment bureaus to whose material interest it is to have men out-of-work and seeking work since their profits depend on fees secured for placing men in employment. The more times

out-of-work, the more fees. The abuses of the private agencies are well known and need not be repeated. It is sufficient to know that even at best the commercial bureaus tend to disorganize rather than to organize the labor market.

The public employment bureau, as an important public function, deserves public support through capital investment in advance of immediate returns. The public employment bureau is in a new field not fully recognized by the business and commercial world. The existence of bureaus promoted in the interests of the out-of-work by charities and philanthropies has resulted in a natural expectation that the workmen sought to be placed by the "free" bureau is in some way not industrially efficient. The public employment bureau must be promoted from the public point of view on business principles. Its approach must be that it seeks to place workmen in employment *because they are industrially capable for some particular industrial opportunity, not merely because they are unemployed.* To both employer and employee it acts as a time saver and an acceptable medium of approach. The city and state governments are justified in investing money in this enterprise because it will work in the interests of business and social efficiency and economy.

Division of Territory in Relation to City and State Bureaus

The Municipal Employment Bureau at Leonard and Lafayette Streets is supported by the City of New York and the State Bureau at 262 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, is supported by the State of New York. They should co-operate to the fullest possible degree and should be conducted as if they were under a single management as far as possible. It is recommended:

- 1 That the state and municipal bureaus keep in daily contact with each other by the interchange of information as to unfilled employment opportunities in either bureau and as to such other matters as experience may prove expedient.
- 2 That in the extension of the work of both the municipal and state bureaus throughout the Greater City, there be kept constantly in mind by the management of both bureaus, and the departments of the city and state governments responsible therefor, the desirability of all the employment bureaus within the City of New York being operated ultimately as part of a single system under a single management.
- 3 That the management of both bureaus work out, in conference, a plan for the development and extension of the work of each, the territory in which each will operate, the establishment of branches and co-operating centers, in accordance with the needs of the city, and the ability of each bureau to serve a particular section or accomplish a given result.

Support of Employers and Employees

It is obvious that the chief need of the public bureaus is the support of substantial employers and the best employees. For the present it is not so essential to attempt placement work in trades in which there are collective agreements between employers and employees since in these trades it is customary and usual for the trade unions themselves to place their own members. For the time being, at least, the efforts of the bureaus should be concentrated largely in industries and among employers having no collective agreements with their men.

We suggest that definite attempts be made by the superintendents of the bureaus to interest employers' organizations and large employers in hiring through the bureaus. Direct appeals to associations of employers and business men could be made by addresses at their meetings and by conferences with working committees of such organizations as would afford the opportunity for conference. Efforts should be made to establish special departments or branches in co-operation with any large industry

in which such experiments would be welcomed. A beginning might be made by requesting business organizations to appoint committees to take up the matter of co-operation with public employment bureaus.

To this end a definite campaign is recommended among the large industrial groups, mercantile employments, dock workers, chauffeurs, hotel help, etc. Such a campaign may require the co-operation of citizen agencies. The Mayor's Committee could with advantage devote time and funds to this purpose.

The following methods of publicity are suggested:

- 1 Endeavor to secure the co-operation of leading advertising experts in publicity campaign.
- 2 Procure space in trade journals for the publication of "newsy" reports concerning labor conditions in the particular trades.
- 3 Secure space on subway and elevated platforms and elsewhere for advertising the public bureaus.
- 4 When a large advertiser is induced to secure his labor through the public employment bureau ask him to state that fact in his advertising.

Location of Branches

As the public bureaus are for the service and protection of the public, and in view of the fact that in order to be effective they should be readily accessible to the employers in the various centers of business and industry, it is deemed advisable to locate branches convenient to such centers.

The superintendent of the municipal bureau has secured the co-operation of private citizens in financing one branch in East Seventy-sixth Street, Manhattan, and in the Greenpoint section, Brooklyn, and anticipates that private funds may be offered in support of experimental branches elsewhere.* Other branches should be established where needed as rapidly as public or private support can be secured for them.

Relation to Private Non-Commercial Employment Agencies

The Federation of Non-Commercial Employment Agencies, promoted through the Mayor's Committee, will afford a medium through which the public employment bureaus may secure the co-operation and support of the non-commercial agencies. The public employment bureau should be the center of support. The close co-operation of all non-commercial employment agencies, both public and private, will result in the development of effective co-operative methods, such as the clearing (preferably through the public bureaus) of all unfilled orders from employers and a unified policy of solicitation of employers, publicity, etc.

Juvenile Exchanges

Steps should be taken as promptly as possible to develop the juvenile departments of the public exchanges. These departments should be developed in close co-operation with the departments of health (work-certificate bureau) and education.

Advisory Committees

In connection with the Municipal Employment Bureau there should be appointed an advisory committee on which employers and employees should have equal representation. This advisory committee will be the greatest help in securing the

* Since this report was made the Municipal Employment Bureau has taken over the Hudson Guild Bureau for day workers, located at 436 West 27th Street. See p. 38.

support of both employers and employees in making the bureau known to a wider circle and in assuring its fuller development.

We recommend that the same advisory committee, to be known as the "Joint Advisory Committee," act for the state and city bureaus. If for any reason the city or state authorities object to this arrangement, we suggest that there be joint conferences between each separate committee at frequent intervals.

Federal System

The coming session of Congress should provide for a national system of employment exchanges. The federal system should act as a co-ordinating and correlating agency to link up the city and state bureaus with each other and to supplement and standardize activities of local communities. The local bureaus should co-operate with the present federal system functioning through the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration and the post offices, though this system is admittedly inadequate.

State Department of Agriculture

We recommend that the Industrial Commission and the State Department of Agriculture consider whether the farm labor bureaus of the State Department of Agriculture are not now superfluous inasmuch as the Industrial Commission has established a system of state bureaus.*

Committee to Promote the Development of the Bureaus

The advisory committee (or committees) of the bureaus consisting of an equal number of employers and employees can best perform the function of promoting the wise development of the public employment bureaus.

Appendix II

RECOMMENDATIONS OF CONFERENCE ON METHODS AND MEANS OF TRAINING THE UNEMPLOYED.

The following Committee was appointed to sum up the results of a conference on training the unemployed called by the Mayor's Committee, June 11, 1915.

Miss Florence M. Marshall
Miss Charlotte M. Boyd
Mrs. Alexander Kohut
Miss Gertrude Robinson Smith
Mrs. James Speyer
Miss Mary Van Kleeck
Mr. Arthur M. Wolfson.

A summary of the committee's recommendations follows:

The Conference recommends the following as constructive suggestions for bettering employment conditions:

- 1 Establishment of a juvenile department of the Municipal Employment Bureau to work in close co-operation with the public schools.

* The Industrial Commission has taken over the farm labor bureau mentioned, since this report was adopted.

- 2 Enlargement of opportunities for vocational training before children enter upon any kind of work, so that all possible guidance and training may be given previous to the taking of a job.
- 3 Establishment of trade annexes (or continuation schools) for three types of workers:
 - a For wholly unskilled workers, especially adolescents who alternate between odd jobs and periods of drifting about. Not only should training be provided for these children but they should be required to be in school during periods of unemployment.
 - b For those who are out of work because they find themselves unfit for, or imperfectly adjusted to, their chosen work. Such schools should offer opportunity for new lines of training.
 - c For workers who are temporarily unemployed because of shifting business conditions (seasonal work, contraction of industry due to business crises, etc.) both in commercial and industrial lines. Such schools should provide supplementary training in accordance with the different trades and commercial pursuits to enable workers to utilize their periods of unemployment for industrial and commercial advancement.
- 4 Further development of a system of tests similar to those carried on by the Julia Richman Trade Annex and the Manhattan Trade School, for the purpose of determining the relation between employment and temperamental, educational and physical qualifications of seekers after positions. Schools giving such tests should work in close affiliation with employment agencies, so that the agencies might have their applicants for positions tested, to determine their fitness for the type of work desired. All organized effort for special training, tests, etc., as a means of permanently bettering conditions of unemployment should be under the department of education.
- 5 Organization of a co-operating social service committee representing the private non-commercial employment agencies and other philanthropic groups which will provide funds for "scholarships" and "student aid." The amount of "scholarships" and "student aid" should be flexible and administered in accordance with the needs of the student.

Immediate action is recommended along certain specific lines:*

Trade annexes for unemployed girls and women as maintained for commercial students at the Julia Richman Trade Annex, and for industrial workers at the Manhattan Trade School, should be continued and put upon a permanent basis.

Similar classes for unemployed boys and men who have been engaged in commercial and industrial work should be inaugurated.

Schools should be established to take care of wholly unskilled unemployed workers, especially adolescents, for the purpose of training them so that when opportunity for re-employment presents itself they will have a larger opportunity for ultimate success.

A co-operating committee should be organized to supervise the maintenance of funds raised for vocational "scholarships" and "student aid" as suggested in No. "5."

Definite plans for co-operation between the employment agencies and the schools should be agreed upon. The employment agencies should be asked to refer all possible candidates for positions registered with them to the trade annexes for vocational tests and especially to insist upon such tests in the placement of juveniles.

* This program is under way in part. Steps are being taken to carry it out in full. Trade annexes under the direction of the Julia Richman High School and the Manhattan Trade School are being conducted at 49 Lafayette Street, Manhattan. Each of these annexes is equipped to accommodate 75 pupils.

Appendix III

CHILD LABOR AND UNEMPLOYMENT*

Inquiry Through Children Applying for Work Certificates

Permission was obtained from the director of the bureau of child hygiene of the department of health, under whose supervision work certificates are granted,† to make a study of the information that could be obtained from this source by two investigators, each of whom was present in the office three afternoons a week. The inquiry was made as part of the field work required of students of the New York School of Philanthropy in the first year of their course.

The investigation was carried on from the middle of January to the second week in April—through the period at the close of the school term in February, when many children regularly leave for work, and through the period of Easter vacation, which is always marked by extra numbers who take out papers for after-school work. Ten hundred and eleven (1,011) children were interviewed. The following is a comparison of the numbers of children applying for workpapers in corresponding months of 1914 and 1915 in New York City:

	1914	1915	Increase in 1915
January.....	982	978	—4
February.....	1,471	1,754	+283
March.....	1,197	1,304	+107
April 1-15.....	370	469	+ 99
Total.....	4,020	4,505	+485

Unemployment in the Children's Families

Of the 1,011 children, 429 or 42.4 per cent., reported that the head of the family, sometimes father, sometimes mother or sister or brother, was unemployed at the time of the investigation. Sixty-three and two-tenths per cent. of the families had only one member unemployed, 17.2 per cent. had two members out of work, and 19.6 per cent. had three or more members idle. Of these families, 29 per cent. had no tangible income at the time of the interview.

The Individual Wage Earners

Number of wage earners in families scheduled.....	2,167
Number of unemployed wage earners.....	534
Percentage of unemployed wage earners.....	24.6

While the record of unemployment in the families is interesting, its significance in the unemployment situation may be exaggerated unless the individual wage earners are taken into consideration irrespective of the relationship to the family. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted an investigation of unemployment in New York City beginning January 30, 1915, and ending February 17, 1915, carefully selecting a representative number of families of various nationalities and all classes of workers. The

* A study of unemployment in the families of 1,011 children applying for employment certificates in New York City from January to April, 1915, by Lucille Lowenstein and Louise Cornell of the New York School of Philanthropy.

† The law of the State of New York requires among other things that the candidate for work papers present himself before the proper authorities at the department of health, accompanied by one of his parents. Thus the conditions for making an inquiry into the family situation were particularly favorable, as the parents could throw added light upon, and verify the correctness of, the children's statements.

result showed that 16.2 per cent. of the wage earners studied were out of work. The proportion of families in which there was unemployment was 21.4 per cent.* These facts are of considerable interest in connection with the study made at the work certificate office, which showed that in 42.4 per cent. of the families there were unemployed members, and that 24.6 per cent. of the wage earners were idle. Accepting the Federal Bureau's report as a basis for unemployment figures in New York City during the year 1914-15, is it not conclusive that the would-be child laborers applying for work certificates came from a group in which the percentage of unemployment was abnormally high?

An effort was made to learn the exact occupation at which each unemployed member of the families last worked and the length of time each had been out of work. The source of information is again the child and the parent accompanying him, and the information gathered is as nearly correct as material collected from a third person, though that person is in the same family, can be. The greatest percentage of unemployed persons in January had been out of work from 6 to 11 months, in February from 6 to 11 months, in March from 1 to 3 months, in April from 3 to 6 months. Nearly one-half of the unemployed wage-earners were workers in clothing and textile trades, the period of most noticeable idleness occurring at the end of January, and the least in April. And as an interesting supplement to these facts it may be noted here that 48 per cent. of the Russians, the largest foreign group among the unemployed, were idle. Remembering that the Russian predominates in this industry, and that January and February are normally slack months in the clothing trade, it is undoubtedly conclusive that a considerable proportion of the unemployment here shown is due to the seasonal depression.

About 40 per cent. of the group of wage earners were American born, nearly one-fifth of whom were out of work. Of the foreign born group, nearly one-third were idle. This difference is perhaps explained by the information above, which shows that the foreign workers in the clothing industry were the heaviest sufferers. In the building trades we find the greatest percentage of unemployment in the month of February, with a lessening of the numbers idle in March and falling to the lowest point in the first two weeks of April. This is directly in the order which the seasonal character of the trade would lead us to expect.

NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE FAMILIES INVESTIGATED AND PER CENT.
OUT OF WORK IN EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES

	Number of workers idle	Per cent. unemployed among those reported
Clothing and textiles.....	167	31
Trade and restaurants.....	99	18
Building.....	80	15
Metals and metal manufacturing.....	48	10
Printing and binding.....	21	4
Transportation.....	19	4
Food, tobacco and liquor.....	20	4
Domestic service.....	16	3
Wood working.....	11	2
Public employment.....	7	1
Miscellaneous.....	46	6

This table shows as concretely as possible the entire amount of lack of work found during the course of the investigation, arranged to present the proportion falling in each industry. It will be seen again how severely the clothing workers suffered.

* Bulletin No. 172 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 8.

Of the 534 unemployed wage earners, 167 were over 45 years of age. In unskilled occupations, where endurance is essential, a worker is soon aged and 45 is not an unusual old age. Probably more significant is the fact that so many (367) were below that age, and of these, 163 were between the ages of 16 and 20. What we may read in this is that a great many men were out of work whose age would not be the reason for unemployment.

A study of the causes of unemployment is necessary in suggesting the methods of adjustment so as to avoid a repetition of the economic situation of the past year. The significance of the term "unemployed" which has been used so often in the course of the preceding pages, lies in the fact of the inability of the idle to obtain work. Neither strikes nor sickness can in this sense be classed as unemployment. A distinction has been made here between the terms "personal causes" and "economic causes." "Old age," "sickness," "accidents," voluntary and involuntary idleness, such as leaving to marry or having been discharged for discipline, have been classed as "personal causes." It is interesting that 29.5 per cent. of the unemployed confessed these personal causes rather than placing all their misfortune at the door of ill luck or of hard times, or of trade depression. Economic reasons, however, accounted for the remaining 70.5 per cent. of the group.

The study showed that 29 per cent. of the families in which there was unemployment had no income from wages at this time and that 46 per cent. fell below the modal* income class, twice as large a proportion of these families being in this number as in those in which there was no unemployment.

Of the 1,011 children interviewed, 805 had attended the public schools, and of these 287 or 36 per cent. were graduates.

Seven hundred and eight, or 70 per cent., of the 1,011 children were native born. That such a large proportion of American born children are leaving school at the ages of 14 and 15 will not surprise us when we know that 84 per cent. of the fathers were foreigners.

Two-thirds of the children urged the necessity of their earnings, either in the family support or for self-support, as the reason of their not continuing at school. The answers of the other children varied, some claiming that they preferred work to school; that they disliked or were tired of school; that they "could not learn"; that they were "too big for their class" and some that their mothers needed the daughters' help at home.

Less than one-half of the 1,011 children had any assurances of immediate work and were facing a problem that many of the wage earners of their family had faced unsuccessfully for over a year. By far the most popular agent in securing employment was "friends and relatives," though a large number of the children depended upon newspaper advertisements and upon canvassing from store to store. This winter of unemployment had seen many a grown man seeking in this way to find work. The uncertainty of this method is accompanied in the case of children with dangers which make it unwise for young children to deal with strangers in unknown parts of the city.†

Can we not infer from the findings of this study that, whereas the families expecting the usual winter unemployment may have been planning to take their children from school at the close of the term, those in which the loss of work was unexpected had to resort quickly to means of support by trying to find work for their children in the middle of their school year? A comparison of the 24.6 per cent. unemployment found in this study with the 16.2 per cent. shown by the Federal Bureau's report leads us undoubtedly to the conclusion that, notwithstanding other factors, financial hardships in the families caused by the existing crisis were responsible for turning out so early a great proportion of these small adventurers upon the tide of opportunity.

* The modal income being that of the largest number of cases in each group of families with equal membership. As a basis for computing a modal income, the families whose heads were shop owners, peddlers, commission salesmen, or contractors, were omitted, since it is obviously impossible to estimate the income in these instances.

† Since this study was made, a Bureau of Attendance of the Board of Education has been established. It is the work of this bureau automatically to follow up at the end of two weeks every child obtaining his work paper. If employment has not been secured in that time, he is returned to school.

Appendix IV

UNEMPLOYED WORKING GIRLS*

Introduction

One of the important experiments in dealing with the unemployment problem during the winter of 1914-1915 was the establishment, by the sub-committee on unemployment among women of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment and co-operating organizations, of seven training classes for unemployed girls.†

The records of three hundred and five girls have been obtained for the purpose of this study. This number is 30.7 per cent. of the total number of girls who had attended the scholarship classes up to June 1st. Each girl was interviewed and her record put down on schedules arranged for the purpose. Schedules were filled out for 151, or 31 per cent., of the members of the class in office work; 39, or 62.9 per cent., of those in the sewing class; 59, or 47.2 per cent., in the classes for domestic science; and 33, or 10.3 per cent., of those in the classes for trade work. The small per cent. of those in the trade work classes who were interviewed is due to the fact that it was impossible to interview the girls in the school, and only the few who passed through the office of the central committee were seen.

The facts disclosed by this study present a general picture of a particular group of girls which may be significant to those interested in the problem of unemployment and this method of dealing with some of those affected by it. Statements of age, schooling, training, home conditions and trade history were included in the investigation. The time and space devoted to the study would not justify anything more than a mere presentation of these facts. The picture shown is of the handicaps which have been met with by these girls. Conclusions as to the causes, effects and possible elimination of these handicaps could be drawn only from a much more intensive and extensive survey of the very large field which has been so slightly touched by the present study.

Reasons for Unemployment

In a study of the reasons given for leaving their positions it was found that 30 per cent. of the girls were laid off because of slack season, 14 per cent. had held temporary positions, 15 per cent. were unemployed because the firm for which they had been working had failed, moved, or gone out of business, making 59 per cent. in all who were unemployed because of business conditions.‡ Fifteen per cent. had left their positions hoping to get better ones, and the rest gave a large number of different reasons varying from "sickness" to "work was too easy."

Average Age

The average age for the girls attending the class in office work was 19.11, and for the non-scholarship§ class of office workers 21.08, a considerably greater age than that found in the sewing class, which was 18.76, the domestic science classes which was 18.75, or the trade workers class, which was the youngest of all, only 17.00.

A classified grouping of ages shows that 37 per cent. of the girls were between 16 and 18, and 35 per cent. between 18 and 20. It is in the classes where the foreign element predominates that we find the youngest girls. In trade work there were 43 per cent. between 16 and 18 and 30 per cent. less than 16, and in the sewing class 56 per cent. between 16 and 18. It is these girls, who on account of their foreign birth|| or training should rightfully have the longest time to prepare themselves in our public schools, that are first sent out into the industrial world.

Schooling Received

In only the domestic science and non-scholarship office work classes was there a considerable proportion of girls who received their schooling outside of New York City. As the standards in terms of grades vary among schools in this country outside of New

* A study of three hundred girls who attended the scholarship classes conducted by the Central Committee on Scholarships of the (Mayor's) Sub-Committee on Unemployment Among Women and Co-operating Organizations during the winter of 1915. By Mary N. Winslow of the New York School of Philanthropy.

† See p. 30.

‡ The facts cited would probably be true of a similar number of girls unemployed in less critical times.

§ Girls who did not receive "scholarships" (financial assistance).

|| 22 per cent. of the girls were foreign born, 57 per cent. native born of foreign parentage.

York City, foreign schools and the city schools, and as 74 per cent. of all the girls are products of the city public schools, the statistics as to the grade reached are only for those whose last school was a New York public school.

The average age at leaving school for all of the girls in the different classes was: 16.38 for the non-scholarship office work class, 15.89 for the office work class, 15.79 for the domestic science classes, 15.39 for the sewing class, and 15.35 for the trade work class.

Table 1 gives the grade at leaving school for the girls who last attended day school in New York City.

TABLE 1.—GRADE AT LEAVING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS ATTENDING SCHOLARSHIP CLASSES WHO LAST ATTENDED DAY SCHOOL IN A NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL

Grade Left School	CLASS ATTENDED											
	Domestic Science		Trade Work		Sewing		Office Work		Non-Schol. Office Work		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Below 4th grade.....	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	1	1*
4th grade.....	1	3	..	..	2	7	1	1*	..	..	4	2
5th grade.....	6	18	..	..	10	36	..	..	..	..	16	7
6th grade.....	7	20	10	33	8	28	..	..	1	8	26	12
7th grade.....	6	18	8	27	5	17	4	3	1	8	24	11
8th grade.....	9	26	3	10	1	4	10	8	3	25	26	12
Elementary school graduate.....	2	6	8	27	1	4	63	52	3	25	77	34
High school non-graduate.....	1	3	1	3	..	..	24	20	4	33	30	13
High school graduate.....	2	6	..	..	..	..	19	16	..	..	21	9
Total.....	34	100	30	100	28	100	121	100	12	100	225	100

* Less than one per cent.

33 per cent. of the girls in the trade work class left school while in the 6th grade (as soon as they legally could) and 36 per cent. of the sewing class left while in the 5th grade.† Many of the girls in the sewing class were backward and reached the age of 16 before they had passed beyond the 5th grade. Several said they left school because they were ashamed to go on account of their age and low grade, but the large majority left "to go to work." When we remember that in this class 18 per cent. of the girls were of families with six or more dependents, it does not seem extraordinary that the advantages of a weekly wage should have assumed more importance to them than those of a more complete education.

In addition to the training received in the public schools, opportunity is offered the girls of New York to continue or supplement their training in evening schools. It is interesting to see that while 84 per cent. of the girls who attended the scholarship classes had received supplementary training of some sort, only 38 per cent. had received such training in the New York public evening schools and 46 per cent. had received training in private commercial schools.

Table 2 gives the distribution of the classes among the evening, commercial, and other schools. Several of the girls in the office work class were counted twice, as they attended both evening and commercial schools. Of course the value of the training in the evening school classes is largely dependent upon the length of time given to it. We find that of the girls who went to evening school, only 15 per cent. continued for three terms or more.

At the commercial schools, however, the term was seldom uncompleted. To finish the course at the commercial school meant a definite financial asset, the value of which was thoroughly understood and appreciated by those taking it. Of the 139 girls who went to commercial school, 55 per cent. went from six to ten months, 15 per cent. less than 6 months, and 30 per cent. more than ten months. The almost invariable answer of a girl when questioned as to the reason why she did not get her commercial training in the public high school, where the training was better and would have cost her nothing, was that the high school training took too long, and that she had thought she would get more practical training in a commercial school.

† Before 1914, it was necessary only to reach the fifth grade to qualify for a certificate. Since then the law has required completion of the sixth grade.

TABLE 2.—NUMBER OF GIRLS ATTENDING SCHOLARSHIP CLASSES WHO HAD RECEIVED SPECIAL TRAINING

Kind of School	CLASS ATTENDED											
	Domestic Science		Trade Work		Sewing		Office Work		Non-Schol. Office Work		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Public evening school	25	23	4	4	11	10	62	56	8	7	110	44
Commercial school . .	1	1*	3	2	..	..	112	81	23	17	139	55
Other school	2	50	..	..	1	25	..	..	1	25	4	1
Total	28	11	7	2	12	5	174	68	32	13	253	100

* Less than one per cent.

Occupations of the Girls

The occupations of the girls in these classes fell mainly under three of the chief groups of occupational pursuits. Under manufacturing and mechanical pursuits 23 per cent. were classed, 15 per cent. were engaged in domestic and personal service and 56 per cent. in clerical work. Each of the two latter divisions included a fairly homogeneous group. The workers in domestic and personal service were domestic servants and waitresses in restaurants. The clerical group consisted of stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers and office assistants. The activities represented by the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits were, however, very diverse. This group has accordingly been classified as to kind of work done in the following table:

TABLE 3.—KIND OF WORK DONE BY GIRLS IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS

Work Done	CLASS ATTENDED											
	Domestic Science		Trade Work		Sewing		Office Work		Non-Schol. Office Work		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hand sewing.....	2	11	1	2	7	13	2	25	2	100	14	11
Machine sewing.....	..	..	2	5	4	8	1	12	..	...	7	6
Miscellaneous machine operating.....	10	52	13	30	14	27	2	25	..	...	39	32
Preparing or examining.	2	11	21	49	26	50	2	25	..	...	51	41
Millinery.....	..	..	3	7	..	..	..	..	..	...	3	2
Apprentice to milliners or dressmakers.....	5	26	1	2	1	2	..	..	..	...	7	6
Other occupations.....	..	..	2	5	..	..	1	12	..	...	3	2
Total.....	19	100	43	100	52	100	8	100	2	100	124	100

On examining Table 3 it is found that 31 per cent. of the positions were for machine operating of various kinds, and 41 per cent. involved examining or preparing activities, which include such occupations as examining, stamping, folding, packing, and labeling; while only 6 per cent. of the positions were for machine sewing, including the making of embroidery. Only 13 per cent. of the positions in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits held by the members of the sewing class were for hand sewing, while 77 per cent. were for machine operating or the examining or preparing activities. The trade workers, of course, were even more highly represented in these last two groups.

Methods of Securing Employment

The very casual methods of securing employment by the girls is illustrated in Table 4.

TABLE 4.—METHODS OF SECURING POSITIONS USED BY GIRLS ATTENDING SCHOLARSHIP CLASSES*

Positions Secured Through	CLASS ATTENDED									
	Domestic Science		Trade Work		Sewing		Office Work		Non-Schol. Office Work	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Friend.....	69	71	21	39	30	50	105	42	11	20
Employment agency...	15	16	1	2	3	5	60	24	27	50
Advertisement in newspaper.....	8	8	12	22	8	13	52	21	3	6
Personal application....	4	4	20	37	19	32	13	5	6	11
School previously attended.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	6	7	13
Other means.....	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..
Total.....	97	100	54	100	60	100	248	100	54	100
									513†	100

* These methods of securing employment do not differ materially from those used by girls who retained their employment. In fact the findings of this study are, as a whole, illustrative of the experience of employed as well as unemployed girls.

† In 15 of the 528 positions about which information was gathered, the method of securing the position was not discovered.

The haphazard way in which jobs were found and given up was striking. Forty-six per cent. of the girls found work through the recommendation of a friend. Employment agencies had been patronized to any extent only by the girls in the domestic science and office work classes. The agencies used by the girls in the latter classes were the typewriting companies, many of which have agencies but charge no fee. In the trade work and sewing classes another large number of girls secured their positions by personal application. In the two latter classes particularly, a very small degree of foresight or interest in their work was shown by the girls. Often a girl would not know the name or address of the firm she had last worked for.

Average Length of Time Employed in Position Longest Held

Table 5 gives the average length of time spent in the position held for the longest time, and shows what little opportunity for training in any one position had been afforded the girls who needed it most.

TABLE 5.—AVERAGE LENGTH OF TIME SPENT IN POSITION HELD FOR THE LONGEST TIME

	CLASS ATTENDED				
	Domestic Science	Trade Work	Sewing	Office Work	Non-schol. Office Work
Average number of months....	11.29	6.63	15.37	14.11	28.44

We find that the non-scholarship office workers held their longest positions for over two years, and the scholarship office workers for more than one year. The members of the sewing class seem to have held their positions for a long time also, but this is explained by the fact that many of the girls worked with one firm for from two to five years, in the busy season only, being laid off when times were slack. The period of time for which they worked has been counted as continuous, as the purpose of the table was to show what opportunities the girls had had to familiarize themselves with any one occupation. It is plain that the trade workers, with an average duration of little more than six months, had little chance to perfect themselves in any one employment.

Home Handicaps

The final handicap under which these girls were suffering was poverty at home. Only 8 per cent. of the girls boarded. Of those who lived at home, 67 per cent. contributed all of their earnings to their households, getting back for personal expense what could be spared. The system employed by 15 per cent. of the girls was to give one-half or more of their earnings to their families and retain the rest for their own expenses. In only 13, or 5 per cent., of the families of the girls living at home was the girl the only wage earner. Thirty-two per cent. of the families had one other wage earner, 37 per cent. two others, and 25 per cent. three or more others. In 25 per cent., however, of the families with one other wage earner, that one was unemployed; in 35 per cent. of the families with two other wage earners one of these two was unemployed, and in 7 per cent. both were unemployed; of the families with three or more wage earners 37 per cent. had one unemployed, 18 per cent. two unemployed, 12 per cent. three unemployed, and 3 per cent. four unemployed. Of all the families for whom information was obtained, 16 per cent. had no wage earner employed, and 30 per cent. had one or more wage earners out of employment. The importance of the contribution of the girl to the support of her family is evidenced by these figures.

That a system of training classes for unemployed girls can help to remove some of these handicaps seems a self-evident fact. Insufficient general education can be supplemented. Lack of technical education can be supplied. Information can be given as to industrial conditions and opportunities, and proper facilities for securing employment can be provided in connection with the classes.

The successful placement by the Young Women's Christian Association of 76 per cent. of the girls who went through their scholarship classes last winter, with one-third of that number placed at a higher wage than they had formerly earned, is an indication of the real value of this form of continuation class, and a proof that they fulfil a need for supplementary training which is disclosed upon examination of the records of a majority of the girls studied.*

*The report of the Committee for Vocational Scholarships of the Henry Street Settlement for 1915, shows that "the amount of wages earned by scholarship children averages twice that earned by an equal number of children of the same age who have received no special training."—*Editor*.

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MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT *

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* Appointed at the suggestion of Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the original Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, by Hon. John Purroy Mitchel, Mayor, January 25, 1916, to deal constructively with the problem of unemployment and prepare against a recurrence of unemployment crises.



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